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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 25 September 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. FLEMMING (Vice-President)	(Saint Lucia)
later:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Marchand Stens (Peru)
Mr. Nakayama (Japan)
Mr. Dienstbier (Czechoslovakia)
Mr. Iturralde Ballivian (Bolivia)
Mr. Ghozali (Algeria)
Mr. Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark)
Mr. Ndolo Ayah (Kenya)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MARCHAND STENS (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): In greeting you, Mr. President, and in congratulating you on your well-deserved election in circumstances of special significance for international peace and security, I reiterate Peru's commitment to the United Nations system and to the norms and principles of international law.

It was no coincidence that the first action taken by Mr. Alberto Fujimori as President-elect of Peru was to approach the United Nations system with the firm intention of reintegrating Peru into the international financial community. President Fujimori intended that gesture also to express recognition of the decisive role the United Nations plays in maintaining international peace and security, the rule of international law, respect for human rights and the promotion of effective solutions to the difficult social and economic problems affecting the developing world.

The evolution of world political events over the past 12 months has taken on the pace characteristic of historical turning points: 1989 and 1990 symbolize changes in the international structure comparable only to those of 1789, 1914 and 1945.

The cold war has ended. Bloc politics is on its way out. The physical, political and economic geography of post-War Europe has also changed, promising unimaginable consequences - a situation that could not have been foreseen only a few months ago.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

Those changes, which affect the political, military and social structures of the European continent, go hand in hand with profound reformulations in the field of ideas and political and strategic doctrines. The dynamics of such changes are harbingers of the twenty-first century in our own time.

The changes in Eastern Europe are the expression of an essentially peaceful revolution that, along with the globalization of the world economy and the ongoing evolution in technological progress, entails the rise and consolidation of four principal peaceful trends in the new international situation.

First, the cold-war dichotomy based on the supposed inevitability of conflict, which pitted competing strategic doctrines against each other, is being replaced by realities that have made bloc-oriented dogmas obsolete. Those realities are finding expression in the rise of a more hopeful logic, one of conciliation, dialogue, understanding and co-operation among the great Powers. Thus, the so-called East-West conflict has evolved into a new system free from ideological antagonism in which the differences between socio-economic and political systems tend to diminish. Those factors, along with initiatives and agreements on the limitation of nuclear and conventional arms, clearly give the North a degree of stability unprecedented in this century. They represent the winds of a qualitatively new kind of détente that we salute and welcome in a spirit of solidarity with peoples that are rightly rejoicing in reunification, in reconciliation, in progress towards peace and security and in prospects of economic union and improvement of their standards of living.

Secondly, a dispassionate and well-balanced assessment of the world economic and social situation tells us that the end of the cold war has not yet had positive effects for developing regions. The international economy continues unable to bridge the gaps created by existing disparities. The impact of economic

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(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

globalization and interdependence is not yet balanced. The developing countries continue to face increasing and more radical marginalization.

For the first time in this century a well-co-ordinated system of guidelines for a truly macro-economic international policy has begun to be formulated among the industrialized economies, the international financial system and the competent international organizations, within the framework of structural adjustment. However, the developing countries have so far been only passive actors in that process, despite the fact that their economic policies must necessarily take into account external factors that are, in many cases, basic to their own development. There is therefore an urgent need to integrate the developing countries, through an ad hoc mechanism based on consensus, into the international macro-economic decision-making process and, in particular, to introduce into comprehensive schemes for adjustment and stabilization elements that can recast development theory and take account of goals for social progress designed to halt and reverse the spiralling and inhumane increase in dire poverty.

Thirdly, as the Secretary-General stresses in his annual report to the General Assembly, at the apex of those two trends - balance and détente in the North, on the one hand, and, on the other, imbalances and growing poverty in the South - we find a Janus-like international situation that wears both the face of hope and the face of dangerous unrestraint.

A number of complex factors have been added to the imbalances in the South and the legitimate despair to which the vicious circle of poverty and recession might lead. Such factors could unleash new and unforeseen conflicts in a regional context. Further contributing to that situation are the negative factors of uncontrolled and increasing arms transfers. While trends towards disarmament and détente grow stronger, the spread of technological and industrial know-how finds expression in the proliferation of centres of production of increasingly

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

sophisticated weapons. The qualitative improvement in arms production has brought about the risk of new conflicts in the third world.

Lastly, looking at Janus' positive face, dogmatic ideologies are being rejected by peoples everywhere and we note that the sole ideology on which universal consensus exists is that of human rights. Individual liberties, political, social and economic rights and the rights of peoples - in short, all the inherent rights of the human being - have become universal. Democracy has become the common heritage of mankind.

The spectacular progress achieved in this essential field of political and social life in recent years, particularly with regard to individual liberties and civil and social rights in Eastern Europe, or, as in the case of Namibia, the right of the people, stands in sharp contrast to Janus' other, pessimistic, face, reflecting as it does the deterioration of the economic and social rights of the peoples of the third world and the inadequate level of international co-operation in the fight against dire poverty. When we see increasing levels of hunger in a world producing food surpluses we know that humanism cannot remain a mere abstraction. We must also bear in mind that human rights should not be proclaimed exclusively for future generations of the developing world but also for all men, women and children who at this very time are enduring the affront of poverty that is their daily lot.

At the same level of international social problems, nation States are facing new challenges, new forms and modalities of aggression, conflict and violence.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

Terrorism and the illicit traffic in drugs have become deadly factors in international relations. The illicit traffic in drugs is a phenomenon which affects most parts of the world: we are seeing the emergence of a veritable narcocracy, and we are suffering from this as much in producer countries as in those affected by consumption and illicit traffic. This is not just a matter of the dual danger inherent in drugs trafficking and narcoterrorism; it is a matter of an economic power threatening the very fabric of society and generating unnaceptable pressures and imbalances in the economic and political structures of States.

Peru is one of the countries most affected by illicit production, and my Government is resolutely committed to intensifying the struggle to eradicate it. However, we are convinced that we will not win this battle by using repressive measures alone: there is a need for strategies to promote crop substitution and a drastic reduction in consumption. This is a struggle where international responsibility is shared, in which the international community and the countries most severely affected by consumption must play their proper parts, given the extraordinary scale of the problem.

The Cartagena Declaration, signed by the Governments of Bolivia, Colombia, the United States and Peru, is a substantive step forward, but if it is to become reality, all the undertakings made must be implemented as matters of urgency. Given that the United Nations Conference on the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and the new Convention on drugs have made provision - as another substantive expression of the worth of multilateral concertation - for a wide range of measures to combat, as priorities, the production and illicit traffic in drugs, it is imperative that an international conference should be called on the subject of the consumption of drugs and the laundering of the income from the drugs traffic.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

These trends - some positive, such as détente; others negative, such as the drugs traffic and terrorism; and yet others regressive, such as the drop in the standard of living in the developing countries - require that international security and co-operation be perceived in a new way. The militaristic concept of security, rooted in the cold war, has at last demonstrated its wrong-headedness and historical fragility. A commonwealth of people, nations and States cannot be held stable by threat and coercion.

As it is a social more than a political process, the stability of the international system can be ensured only if there is a new concept of it which takes into account the economic, social, environmental, political and diplomatic components of security. However, for the same reason, stable security cannot be sustained within an international power structure removed from democratic principles and practices.

From 1961 the Non-Aligned Movement had realized that the end of bloc politics was possible and demanded, with the insistence proper to major historical projects, the end of the cold war and the elimination of power politics and the concept of spheres of influence. The history of our times, above and beyond the role of peoples and leaders which made the end of the cold war and bloc politics possible, is a constructive stimulus to the policy of non-alignment.*

The Non-Aligned Movement, which has also been proposing a new, comprehensive concept of international security, is now facing new challenges. With the new international configuration, it is desirable further to enhance the unity of the Movement so that it can contribute to strengthening the trends towards co-operation we are now witnessing. The Movement must offer dynamic responses in keeping with

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* Mr. Flemming (Saint Lucia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

the present situation, and must recognize that the action it takes must now be focused on a world marked by co-operation rather than confrontation.

The Movement must draw up a renovated international agenda with updated priorities and a clearer orientation towards economic and social problems. Programme positions must also be formulated which, by negotiation and consensus, identify the best ways to help set up a broad-based, multisectoral, democratic security system with many poles. The fundamental principles of non-alignment must therefore be upheld at all times, but this does not mean that the Movement should not consider playing an active role in the changing dynamics of the international system.

The United Nations has a key role to play in building a more just and stable world. Indeed, the Organization has in recent years participated exceptionally successfully in resolving conflicts and also in national reconciliation processes. The Security Council is now, perhaps more than at any time since its creation, finding a way to reach concertation between its members and to make full use of the Secretary-General's abilities and capabilities, thereby making the Council the effective instrument the San Francisco Charter intended.

At the same rapid pace with which world events have been taking place, we have moved from the so-called crisis of multilateralism to reassessing the worth of the United Nations as the highest forum for political and diplomatic concerted action. There is today fresh confidence in the world Organization. The important efforts made by the Secretary-General in finding historic solutions to the Iraq-Iran war and the crises in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Namibia; the substantive progress being made in the search for solutions to the problems of Western Sahara, Cyprus and Kampuchea; and the difficult and sensitive steps being taken to achieve a solution through national reconciliation in the case of El Salvador, are milestones in efforts with which the people of Peru feel a sense of close association.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

In the present crisis in the Persian Gulf, the Security Council has defined international legality, and my Government strongly supports the demand that Iraqi troops should withdraw from Kuwait. We hope that the consensus that international law must be respected will in the end make possible a peaceful solution to this serious situation.

In this progress towards strengthening the United Nations and increasing its effectiveness, the international community is finding new opportunities for dealing with complex situations in the economic and social fields.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

We do not expect the serious problems of the South to be solved only through multilateral action. That would be too much to expect. However, while it is acknowledged that the economic problems of developing countries will have to be solved essentially by their own means, it is equally true that there is a need for a multilateral approach to problems such as inadequate financing for the stabilization process, depressed prices for commodities, trade restrictions, reverse resource transference, limited transfer of technological innovation and, basically, serious questions of poverty and the deterioration of the living standards of the people.

It is indispensable to reappraise, within a multilateral framework, the variables of social development and the role which a renewed strategy of co-operation for development must play in the new world economic situation. Multilateral definitions in this area cannot be too specific, but they must establish appropriate guidelines in order to make it possible for regional, subregional and bilateral agreements to produce effective solutions.

Peru has established a new Government, which was democratically elected by the majority of its people, despite the threat made by terrorists to violate the social and political rights of the Peruvian people and despite a serious economic and social situation. Needless to say, the economic and social situation in Peru shows symptoms of an emergency of such dimensions that, above and beyond compromising its economic basis, has clearly expressed itself in social conditions that demand a concerted effort of national unity to overcome the crisis. Therefore, my country's new Government has appealed for a national consensus calling on all the political and social forces to join together to overcome the present crisis and to eliminate illegal drug trafficking and terrorism.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

The seriousness of the situation we Peruvians face can be judged by certain clear signs: in a region of the Andes, the poorest region in Peru, infant mortality has reached a rate of 114 out of 1,000 - between 1987 and 1990 the total gross investment was less than the amount required to offset the depreciation of the infrastructure, factories and equipment in the country - between 14 May 1980 and 27 July 1990 the Peruvian people were victims of some 18,000 terrorist attacks and this same homicidal activity has violated the fundamental right to life of almost 18,000 persons who have died as a result of political violence.

Consequently, despite the inevitable stringency, the programme of economic stabilization has been received with understanding by the Peruvian people, who, in their best ethical tradition, have decided to face the monetary cost of this stabilization patiently, while maintaining their hope for better times and the trust engendered by a leadership that is seeking to restore a moral meaning to political affairs.

It is in such circumstances that nations emerge as agents of their own destiny. This is the case of the Peruvian people, who, in the arduous task of overcoming the crisis, act with the same dignity and the same sense of solidarity as that which characterized ancient Andean civilizations, which build societies where well-being, justice and efficiency were shared values.

In order to overcome the crisis, three programmes have been outlined and are being implemented in the most efficient way possible: a programme for economic stabilization, a social emergency programme, and a programme to neutralize the effects of the drought. It is indispensable for the success of the stabilization programme that the Government, the church and the non-governmental organizations should be able to carry out the social emergency programme effectively.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

The social gap in Peru has widened: 55 per cent of its population live in dire poverty and 32 per cent in conditions of deprivation.

This social gap has been worsened by the negative effects of the drought in the southern Andes and, for the time being, by the temporary impact that every economic stabilization programme inevitably brings about at first, especially when it is commensurate with the magnitude of the imbalances to be addressed.

It is important to note that the social emergency programme reflects not only the demands and needs of the Peruvian people but also the international consensus that is emerging with regard to the Peruvian situation in its effort to establish stability, while at the same time preserving the human aspects of the Peruvian economy.

In a way that is in keeping with the political consensus and national unity, austerity measures have been proposed which involve an intense fight against corruption: an austerity that is understood not only as a reduction of government expenditure, but also as a means of restoring the ancient principles which are inherent in our Andean tradition and which are in keeping with a way of life that we must preserve in order to strengthen the traditional values of our people for the future.

This is the challenge which we Peruvians are ready to face in calling for a national consensus and through a moral and political commitment. We are convinced of the active support for these efforts by the international community and, most especially, by those friendly nations that are enjoying greater stability and prosperity as well as by international organizations, non-governmental agencies and organizations committed to co-operation for development and emergency assistance.

(Mr. Marchand Stens, Peru)

We are confident that we have the support of all of them. We hope the response will be commensurate with the needs and the enormous efforts of the noble and exemplary Peruvian people.

As a special request of the President of Peru, Mr. Alberto Fujimori, I would like to put on record the warm gratitude of the Government and the people of Peru for the valuable assistance and support given by the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar. We firmly believe that the measures he has instituted to establish a broad scheme of co-operation with Peru will reach their lofty goal.

I also would like to extend our gratitude to the Governments and international organizations that have already given their co-operation and support, especially in regard to food.

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For the Peruvian people, overcoming this situation is not only a government responsibility, but also primarily an ethical and moral commitment of national scope.

This is the same commitment that, with regard to the struggle against terrorism, inspired President Fujimori to stress the respect for human rights, which is rooted in our historic traditions and recognized in our constitutional structure. President Fujimori was categorical when he stated:

> "The terrorist violence faced at this time by our young democracy cannot justify, in any case, the systematic or sporadic violation of human rights. The anti-terrorist fight my Government will wage will be framed by and carried out according to the principles of the Constitution and the laws of the Republic. This perspective will be applied with fairness and justice, both to those who presently commit offences against our society and to those who protect it".

We are obviously familiar with the moral difference between them.

Mankind is on the verge of the third millennium of our era. In spite of events and situations that threaten the possibility of having a safer and more just world, there are global trends that make us more optimistic. Peace, justice and security are interrelated values. We hope that the new international situation now being shaped takes them into account in an unprecedented agreement of solidarity between the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong.

Mr. NAKAYAMA (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the Government and the people of Japan, I would first like to express my congratulations to Mr. Guido de Marco on his election as President of this forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. At the same time, I would be remiss were I not to express our appreciation to Mr. Joseph Garba for the

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exemplary manner in which he presided over the forty-fourth session. I would also like to extend a hearty welcome to the Republic of Namibia and the Principality of Liechtenstein, both of which are joining us at the General Assembly as new Members of the United Nations.

Established for the paramount purpose of maintaining international peace, the United Nations has once again become the focus of international attention and hope, as it has moved promptly and appropriately to deal with the recent Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, to work for peace in Cambodia and to fulfil its other missions. I sincerely welcome the revitalization of the United Nations role in maintaining and restoring peace, and express my profound appreciation and respect to the Security Council, the Secretary-General and the entire United Nations staff for their contributions to that end.

Since we last gathered in these halls one year ago, the international situation has undergone changes far greater than any of us could have imagined. We are now truly at a historic watershed. In the light of perestroika and the "new thinking" that guides the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, democratization and the shift to market economies in Eastern Europe and the advent of a new era in United States-Soviet relations, the cold war is now a thing of the past. The transformation from discord and conflict to dialogue and co-operation that began in Europe has extended to other regions as well, and now shows signs of spreading world-wide. The collapse of the Berlin Wall and German unification are symbolic of this quantum leap to freedom and co-operation. However, despite the laudable historic changes, the sudden shattering of peace in the Gulf region with Iraq's illegal invasion of Kuwait is a reminder that the future of the international community remains uncertain and a demonstration that even this new international order is fraught with peril.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

In this rapidly changing international situation, what are the international community's ultimate needs and what role can the United Nations play in meeting them? These are crucial issues, and our response to them will help determine whether we shall succeed in ensuring that this new world order is one of peace and justice.

In taking a series of prompt and effective measures against Iraqi aggression, the Security Council became the embodiment of the international community's conscience and underlined the vital role the United Nations has to play. The collective security mechanism of the United Nations is based on a solemn pledge: States will resolve their differences peacefully through discussion, and meet with united opposition any State that breaks these vows. While in the era of East-West discord this system did not always work as effectively as we might have hoped, it may be said that a new era has dawned in which it could come into full flower. Terrorism and regional disputes grounded in ancient territorial or ethnic rivalries are the main destabilizing elements at this time of transition, and it is essential that the United Nations play a central role in their prevention, elimination and resolution.

The wave of democratization spawned by reform and free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe gives us hope that a veritable tide of democratization will overtake Africa, Asia and Latin America, and that a current of reform will spread across the entire world. Market principles likewise are being embraced in more and more countries around the world. All people, regardless of where they live, must be guaranteed their fundamental human rights, must enjoy freedom of expression and have the right to pursue economic activities freely. The concept of each person realizing his or her full potential is crucial to the attainment of a truly just and humane world based on respect and equality. I believe that the

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World Summit for Children, to be convened this week-end, will be meaningful in raising awareness of the issue of the rights of the world's children.

By dispatching election observer teams to monitor free elections in diverse parts of the world, the United Nations has contributed immensely to this tide of democratization and, under the banner of "ballots not bullets", has proclaimed the gospel of self-determination, which holds that a nations's future is determined by the will of its people. I am confident that the United Nations will play an increasingly important role in ensuring basic human rights and economic freedom.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

Although in the post-war era much of the free world has enjoyed development and prosperity, many developing countries are still beset by grinding poverty and crippling debt. If the international community is to achieve sustained growth we must strive to ensure that developing countries share in it. There are also numerous problems - such as those relating to the global environment and drugs - that affect all humankind and thus demand a common response. Because it is clearly impossible for any one country alone to resolve these issues, co-operation through the United Nations system is essential.

Since the Second World War Japan has developed a foreign policy whose object, above all else, is peace and, in line with its Peace Constitution, has restricted its military activities entirely to defence, seeking to resolve differences with other nations through discussion. The spirit underlying Japan's Constitution is based on the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes that is embodied in the United Nations Charter. Thus, ever since being admitted to membership, Japan has made the United Nations an extremely important part of its foreign policy. Japan is firmly resolved not to become a military Power that could pose a threat to other nations, steadfastly to uphold its three non-nuclear principles, not to export arms to belligerents or countries on the brink of belligerency, and to contribute to world stability through peaceful means.

Based on the position that it will discharge those international obligations it deems most appropriate, and in view of its dual position as an Asia-Pacific nation and an industrial democracy, Japan will seek to contribute to a better world and to pursue an activist foreign policy in the quest for peace and stability throughout the international community.

Addressing the General Assembly last year, I stated that Japan would co-operate to the best of its ability in the cause of world peace - through diplomatic efforts, financial and personnel support for United Nations

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peace-keeping operations, and assistance for refugees and for national rehabilitation following the resolution of conflicts. Along with continuing to promote such co-operation in the cause of peace, Japan is determined to make broad-based contributions to those most urgent issues facing the international community: world-wide peace, stability, and democracy.

Accordingly, Japan is prepared to co-operate in every possible way within the bounds of its Constitution so that the United Nations collective-security mechanism can function effectively. Responding to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Japan had independently decided to impose economic sanctions even before the Security Council took such action, and it is faithfully observing all the terms of the Security Council resolutions. Seeking to contribute vigorously to international efforts for the restoration of peace and stability in the Gulf region, Japan has responded positively to the call for material, transport, medical and financial support. Japan is also extending assistance to the many refugees this conflict has generated, and economic support to the countries in the region most severely affected. Japan calls upon Iraq to heed the repeated Security Council resolutions and to withdraw promptly and unconditionally from Kuwait. The Iraqi measures barring the departure of many Japanese and other foreign nationals stranded in Iraq are intolerable from a humanitarian as well as an international legal standpoint. Japan demands that the Government of Iraq allow these people to leave as soon as possible. I hope the Secretary-General will continue his efforts towards that end.

The peace-keeping activities of the United Nations have taken on added breadth and intensity in recent years. I am particularly pleased that the areas of possible civilian participation have expanded, allowing a greater number of countries to become involved. I refer, in particular, to civilian monitoring of elections and the incorporation of a civil administrative function, as envisaged for the operations in Cambodia and Western Sahara. The United Nations is thus

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participating in the establishment of democratic governments, representing the best interests of the entire international community. Japan has been making a special effort to support peace-keeping operations, including voluntary contributions to their start-up costs and also to a trust fund for strengthening their financial base. I should like to call upon other Member States to do likewise. Japan has also provided civilian personnel for the election observer teams in Namibia and Nicaragua, and I assure the Assembly that it will continue to extend both financial and personnel support for these activities.

In an effort further to expand Japan's participation, Prime Minister Kaifu announced that he would review the legal system of Japan and seriously consider enacting new legislation - for example, a United Nations peace co-operation law. This would enable Japan within the framework of its Constitution to assume greater responsibilities regarding United Nations activities for preserving peace and to participate in international efforts in support of those activities. Indeed, the Government is now engaged in intensive deliberations on this legislation. I believe that Japan can best contribute to the cause of world peace, and in a manner consistent with its Peace Constitution, by participating in United Nations activities to restore and maintain international peace and stability.

Tumultuous changes witnessed in Europe are spreading to other regions and have begun to have a global impact. In the Asia-Pacific region they include improvements in Sino-Soviet and in Korean-Soviet relations, the start of the Soviet withdrawal from Mongolia and Cam Ranh Bay, and the process of democratization in Mongolia. These changes will surely be followed by others. At the same time, however, the Soviet Union continues to occupy Japan's Northern Territories, stability has yet to come to the Korean peninsula, and many problems stand in the way of a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. Moreover, there are fears that conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir may escalate.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

Peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region has a direct bearing on Japan's own stability, and I feel it is essential to work together to dispel the political distrust and solve other problems in the region. Accordingly, it is Japan's policy, as part of its diplomatic efforts, to encourage more vigorous and constructive dialogue among all countries concerned.

In this era when new relationships, based on dialogue and co-operation, are being forged world wide, I am hopeful that progress will be made towards normalizing Japanese-Soviet relations, resolving the still unsettled Northern Territories issue, and concluding a peace treaty between our two countries. Progress in these areas not only will contribute immeasurably to buttressing peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region but also will help extend to other parts of the world the substantive improvements in the East-West relationship that are taking place in Europe. It is on this basis that Japan will continue further to expand and strengthen the dialogue; I hope that the Soviet Union will likewise make greater efforts for fundamental improvements in the relationship.

It is crucial to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region that the People's Republic of China remain open to the rest of the world and enjoy domestic stability. Japan hopes that China will continue to pursue policies of reform and openness, and, for its part, will continue its policy of extending all possible co-operation to such Chinese efforts at modernization.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

A comprehensive political settlement in which the United Nations is involved is essential to any lasting solution to the long-festering Cambodian problem. Following last year's international conference in Paris, efforts for a political settlement have been made, at the international level, at the regional level, and at the national level, among the principal parties. An Asian nation itself, Japan hosted the Tokyo meeting on Cambodia in an effort to find a solution to this problem, which is the primary destabilizing factor in the region, and has taken an active part in the peace process.

The momentum for peace is building, with the formulation of a framework for a settlement by the permanent members of the Security Council, and with the establishment, at the Jakarta meeting, of the Supreme National Council. I very much hope that the Paris conference will be convened soon, that the remaining problems will be ironed out, and that peace will come to Cambodia in the near future. Japan is considering how it might extend co-operation with United Nations peace-keeping activities and, once peace is attained, with national rehabilitation efforts.

The issue of the Korean peninsula is, as a matter of principle, one to be settled peacefully through direct dialogue between the authorities of the North and of the South. Highly appreciative of the fact that the historic North-South Prime-Ministerial meeting took place earlier this month in Seoul, Japan hopes that further progress will be made in the North-South dialogue. In the light of this new situation, Japan is working positively to improve relations with North Korea, with due regard for the maintenance of international political balance. Japan hopes to contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to further dialogue between North and South Korea. Moreover, we have maintained the position that we would welcome and support United Nations membership for North and South, as an

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interim measure towards the goal of unification of the peninsula. This would also contribute to the relaxation of tensions and would enhance the universality of the United Nations. We hope that constructive talks will be held between North and South on the basis of the outcome of the recent North-South Prime-Ministerial meeting.

I place the greatest importance on the progress made recently in South Africa towards the elimination of apartheid. Preliminary negotiations between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress have prepared the way for true negotiations on the drafting of a new constitution, and I believe that this represents a significant step towards a peaceful resolution of the problem. Japan supports the efforts of all the principals involved in South Africa towards the establishment of a free and democratic régime, a régime from which apartheid has been fully eradicated.

We must not forget that, even today, internal fighting continues in Afghanistan. Japan has long emphasized that true stability cannot be attained in Afghanistan without the establishment of a broad-based Government that reflects the popular will. Japan has been working actively for refugee repatriation - for example, by contributing to the Office of the Co-ordinator for United Nations Humanitarian and Economic Assistance to Afghanistan. I sincerely hope that, through the determined efforts of the Afghan people themselves to solve their problems, and through the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, peace and stability will be restored to Afghanistan and that refugees will be enabled to return to their homes as soon as possible.

Japan has consistently supported the efforts and initiatives of countries in the region to restore peace to Central America. We attach the greatest importance to the fact that a change of Government was effected in Nicaragua through free and

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fair elections held under United Nations supervision, and we hope that in El Salvador a cease-fire will be achieved with United Nations co-operation.

In the field of arms control and disarmament, it is gratifying that the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and the Negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe have been accelerated. This progress both reflects and reinforces the overall improvement in East-West relations.

Yet of ever greater urgency is the question of how to structure, maintain and strengthen global arrangements against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as of missiles and other armaments. The current situation in the Gulf vividly demonstrates this. I am convinced that Japan's firm policy of restricting the export of weapons has contributed to the maintenance of international peace and security. Believing it imperative that there be greater disclosure and greater transparency in the transfer of conventional weapons, I very much hope that a productive conclusion can be reached on this issue in the deliberations by the group of experts, as called for in the General Assembly resolution.

While the recently concluded Fourth Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) did not adopt a final declaration, it did reaffirm the significance of the NPT structure. Japan will continue to work for the maintenance and strengthening of the NPT régime, and calls upon all of the signatories strictly to observe the Treaty's provisions. We believe that having France and China present as observers at this Fourth Review Conference was beneficial in that it made the NPT régime more universal, and we appeal to all countries, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, to accede to the Treaty as soon as possible, if they have not already done so.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

In the same vein, Japan was pleased that this year at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament the ad hoc committee was reconvened to deliberate on substantive issues relating to the limiting or banning of nuclear testing. That the United States and the Soviet Union have exchanged instruments of ratification for two treaties relating to nuclear testing is also encouraging, and we hope that this work will be continued next year.

If we are ever to achieve a fundamental solution to the issue of chemical weapons, it is essential that we make further efforts, in the spirit of the Final Declaration of the Paris Conference, to achieve an early conclusion by the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on a comprehensive ban on these weapons. The initiatives taken recently by the United States and the Soviet Union on this issue deserve our highest respect.

Japan, for its part, will continue to work at the United Nations, at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, and in other forums, for effective arms control and disarmament.

As an industrial democracy, Japan is contributing vigorously to the movement towards democracy manifest in so many places around the world. Japan's basic policy is to co-operate actively, as appropriate to each situation, with countries that are themselves undertaking democratization.

In co-ordination with the other industrial democracies, Japan will continue to support actively the democratic Governments that have been established in Eastern Europe.

I believe that it is incumbent upon us to demonstrate our support, through economic and other forms of co-operation, for the democratization efforts of developing countries by extending economic and other forms of co-operation.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

As is clear from the efforts for perestroika in the Soviet Union and from the shift to market economies in Eastern Europe, the driving force behind the world economy's dynamic development has been the system of free trade centred on market-economy principles.

Moreover, it is hoped that the integration of the European Community, slated for 1992, will not succumb to regionalism and protectionism, but will be open to the rest of the world. It is essential that the free-trade system be preserved and strengthened in order to ensure sustained development everywhere, including East European and developing countries. Accordingly, our most urgent task is to ensure that the Uruguay Round is concluded successfully, stemming the tide of protectionism and restructuring the international trading order for the twenty-first century. With little more than two months to go in the negotiations, it is essential that every Government concerned have the political will to make a concerted effort to resolve the remaining issues.

The effort to support the East European countries in their transition to market economies must not adversely affect assistance to developing countries. This position was reaffirmed in the Economic Declaration of the Houston Summit. Support for developing countries, particularly non-oil-producing countries, is especially important in view of the effects that the current situation in the Gulf is having on them. Thus, we must recognize that the need to co-operate with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as they strive to overcome their economic difficulties is greater than ever.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

Japan has systematically enhanced its official development assistance (ODA) in an effort to expand the flow of capital and technical co-operation to developing countries. As a result, last year Japan became the world's largest donor of ODA. At the same time, it is working to implement measures to recycle private and public funds on an untied basis to developing countries burdened by debt and other problems.

The land-locked developing countries (LLDCs) of sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere demand particular consideration as they struggle with declining market prices for their primary commodities, low-growth rates, trade deficits, burgeoning debt, and other grave difficulties. Japan has been strengthening its support for the economic structural adjustment efforts of these countries by extending non-project grant capital co-operation as well as grant assistance to offset obligations arising from past yen credits. The recent LLDC Paris Conference played an important role in bringing to world attention the desperate plight of the LLDCs and the need for international co-operation. Japan intends to extend assistance to these countries to the best of its ability.

As Japan's ODA disbursements have increased, making it the world's leading donor country, I have frequently been asked if this assistance is truly designed to meet actual needs of the recipient countries, if due attention is being paid to environmental concerns in development projects, and if the assistance is being used effectively. I hope that the system for assessing the effectiveness of aid will be improved and the dialogue on aid policies and programmes between donor and recipient countries strengthened. The United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and other international bodies play the leading role here, and I suggest that they strengthen all possible measures to achieve these ends.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

The dramatic political and economic changes which the international community is now witnessing are closely related to dramatic advances in science and technology. Ever since the invention of the steam engine gave rise to the industrial revolution and irrevocably altered the social structure, scientific innovation has affected the way society has developed. Today, advances in telecommunications satellites have made it possible to exchange information and images in real time, and advances in transportation technology have enabled us to travel more frequently and at faster speeds. Indeed, the instantaneous transmission of information was a major factor behind the chain reaction of rapid, radical reform in Eastern Europe. Scientific and technological advances offer infinite possibilities for human progress.

The other side of this coin, however, is the alarming progress made in weapons technology with its potential for the total destruction of human society. And the vast increases in production and consumption that have accompanied scientific and technological advances have in turn given rise to the problems of global warming, destruction of the ozone layer, depletion of the tropical rain forests, acid rain, creeping desertification, and other disruptions of the global ecological balance.

Because these issues are of the most urgent importance to the entire global community, it is incumbent upon the United Nations, humankind's most universal organization, to mobilize all of the capabilities available to it in the search for solutions.

Japan's assiduous efforts to overcome its serious environmental pollution problems have resulted, for example, in the achievement of the lowest carbon dioxide emission levels relative to its gross domestic product (GDP) of any industrial nation. I assure the Assembly that Japan will use its scientific and technological expertise, experience and wisdom, as well as its economic might, to

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

contribute ever more vigorously to international co-operation on global environmental issues. Consistent with this policy, and with its continuing support for the activities of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) and other bodies, Japan is increasing its ODA for environmental programmes to approximately 300 billion yen over the three-year period from 1989 to 1991. Japan is also taking an active part in preparations for the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, and will extend co-operation to support developing countries, through, for example, the Multilateral Fund under the Montreal Protocol.

The transfer of technology is an important part of assistance to developing countries. A study is now under way on the possibility of establishing in Japan the UNEP centre for global environmental conservation. This would serve as a central body to co-ordinate the collection of technical data to meet the needs of developing countries and provide access to appropriate technology through training and other programmes. As soon as UNEP makes a formal decision, the Government of Japan will co-operate with efforts to establish this centre.

The 1990s have been designated the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. As one of the countries that proposed this designation, Japan appeals to all countries of the world to make every effort to raise international consciousness about natural disasters, to minimize the damage from such disasters, and to protect the global environment.

It is in the field of medicine in which we have most directly experienced the benefits of science and technology, and it is clear that international co-operation in this field is most important if we are to go on to create a global community in which all people can live full and healthy lives. Through advances in medicine, tuberculosis, smallpox, and many other once-feared diseases have been largely

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

eradicated. It is hoped that in the not-too-distant future effective means will be found to treat cancer and AIDS.

The accident at Chernobyl was a stark reminder of the potential of scientific and technological advances to threaten humankind's very survival. This year the Economic and Social Council has called for bilateral and multilateral assistance to the victims of that tragic accident. As the only country to have suffered the effects of the atomic bomb, Japan intends to use the experience it has gained in this field to benefit those victims.

The drug problem is another issue that can only be resolved with international co-operation, and here too hopes are high that the United Nations will play an effective role. Japan supports the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) and is working to implement the global action programme and political Declaration adopted at the special session on narcotic drugs. Consistent with these efforts, Japan has proposed that an Asia-Pacific drug conference be convened to promote and co-ordinate intraregional co-operation on this issue.

In this era of change it is important that serious thought be given to the question whether the roles and functions of the United Nations are fully suited to the emerging international order. The Security Council, for example, has an increasingly important role to play in this age of dialogue and co-operation in maintaining and restoring peace; even before conflict erupts, it should, together with the Secretary-General, engage in preventive diplomacy to warn of the danger and to lower the level of tension. I believe that a system should be put in place which, in a situation where international peace and security was threatened, would enable the Security Council to conduct fact-finding activities and dispatch observer missions and the Secretary-General to undertake efforts to intervene and prevent conflict at an early stage. Such a system would constitute a particularly

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

effective means of preventing the escalation of disputes. Japan is prepared to work in earnest with other Member States to take the necessary measures to strengthen these conflict-prevention functions.

All Member States should take full part in United Nations activities, working as equals in this new era of co-operation. Consistent with this principle, I believe that the so-called former enemy clauses remaining in the Charter are entirely inappropriate and meaningless in this new era, and I should like to call upon other United Nations Members for their understanding and support for the elimination of these clauses.*

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Nakayama, Japan)

The speedy response of the United Nations to the Iraqi crisis has opened the eyes of leaders and people the world over to the usefulness of the United Nations and especially of its efforts to maintain and restore peace. In Japan, the media offer detailed reports of every Security Council meeting and thorough analyses of the Secretary-General's every diplomatic move. At the same time, there is an earnest public debate now under way as to how Japan, a pacifist nation, can more fully co-operate with the United Nations to achieve world peace. I trust that similar debates are taking place in other nations around the globe.

Never before have hopes been higher that the United Nations will play a leading role in the pursuit of world peace and stability; in the creation of a free and democratic society, where human rights are respected; in the achievement of lasting prosperity; and in solving the environmental and other global problems facing humankind.

We are now in the final decade of the twentieth century and, as we look back, it is clear that this was a century of protracted war and conflict. It should be just as clear that the twenty-first century must be one of peace and co-operation.

All nations will have to co-operate to preserve the global environment, control drug abuse, deter international terrorism and prevent the depletion of the Earth's resources.

Having made the United Nations a central focus of its foreign policy ever since being accepted as a Member, Japan places its full trust and hope in the Organization. Japan is determined to make every possible effort for world peace and stability for a humane international community and for an enduringly beautiful planet.

Mr. DIENSTBIER (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your election. Your professional skills and your kindness, which I had the

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opportunity to know during my recent visit to your country, will be much needed in guiding the present session of the General Assembly.

The past year was to a substantial extent a year of Europe. The eastern half of Europe is regaining its freedom and sovereignty.

Your presidency appears to me to be a symbol. You are taking office as a representative of a European country which is, however, also fairly close to Africa and whose port of La Valletta was for centuries a place of clashes as well as a refuge that was always available on the routes between Europe and Asia, the West and the East, as was said in Rudyard Kipling's time, or the North and the South, as we are beginning to say nowadays.

The most recent sessions of the General Assembly have already indicated that the United Nations is only now returning to the opportunities of the time of its founding. The success of last year's session was due to your predecessor, General Joseph N. Garba of Nigeria, who deserves our gratitude.

It has become customary to address here all the particular areas of United Nations activities. I shall certainly comment on some of them today, and we will express our views on others later. Yet I feel a need to be a little bit personal, which will take a little time.

It is a special honour for me to be welcomed into the community of nations as the first Foreign Minister of newly liberated Czechoslovakia. Twenty-two years ago I was sitting in this Hall in the press gallery and listening to a statement by the then Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko. He was putting forward arguments to back up a definition of aggression. It was a fine definition. However, I felt a shiver running down my spine. Gromyko was speaking as if he did not know that he was defining, describing and condemning precisely what his own country had perpetrated against Czechoslovakia no more than six weeks earlier. Then, for many years, I followed from the places where I had to live and work because of that

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aggression - among others from a prison - the difficulties and sometimes even political paralysis of this Organization, the cascades of rhetoric and mutual accusations. It was not until the past few years that, among other things because of the more favourable developments in the eastern part of Europe, certain results emerged. To a considerable extent we owe it to the tireless activities of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, that the United Nations has, after all, played a meaningful role - for example in Namibia's accession to independence and in the assertion of minimum human-rights standards.

I have said that the past year was a year of Europe - a year of historical failure of its totalitarian régimes. My country, too, is now, after 50 years, rededicating itself to its democratic traditions. We are all still somewhat surprised. No more than a year ago I was living in a country mired in immorality, economic decline and police persecution; now I am living in a country full of hope that has already had free elections and is taking the first steps towards introducing a market economy. A year ago I was working as a boiler-room attendant, publishing an independent underground newspaper and being chased by the secret police, while today I am addressing you as the Foreign Minister of my country.

In the heart of Europe, at the crossroads of European history, we have often been compelled to think about our place within the community of nations. Armies used to roll over our territory, and a number of European wars started and ended there. More than once, forces stronger than ourselves forced us to give way to their interests. When we were not willing to do so - as at the time of Munich or the Prague Spring - they sent troops to make us obey. Nevertheless, we have always succeeded in recovering.

The first Czechoslovak President, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, believed that greatness was not a matter of size or numbers of population but rather a matter of inner strength, truth, culture and education, of the contribution a person or a

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nation can make to enrich the common treasury of humanity, of the values he or she will create and offer to others. Standing on the threshold of our new democracy, we want to meet this challenge.

The rapid disintegration of the totalitarian structures in Central and Eastern Europe was the fruit of the activities of people yearning to live in freedom in a just, democratic and prosperous society. However, it was also a proof of the fact that systems incapable of reflection and self-renewal at ever higher levels are doomed to passivity, rigidity and ultimately to extinction. Many dictators have terrorized peoples in this century: there were Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, there were numbers of others in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the end, they always led their countries to failure and defeat. Undoubtedly, those continuing along similar lines today will end up in the same way. That, however, always costs a lot of suffering, misery and human lives.

We also know from our experience that those who cause suffering always seek to justify their actions by invoking lofty ideals: the only true faith; the interest of the nation; the struggle for the best of worlds. Then, an aggression is not an aggression but a holy war or a liberation struggle; killing is not murder but the defeat of enemies of freedom or of criminal elements. In the United Nations, too, we were encountering that approach for over four decades.

(Mr. Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia)

I am happy to note that, by taking an unambiguous stand on the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, our Organization is coming back - definitively, I hope - to its real mission. Only with the end of confrontation and with the East and the West engaging in genuine co-operation will the United Nations be able to exert more effective efforts in promoting global security and human rights, eradicating famine and underdevelopment, protecting and improving the environment, combating drug abuse and terrorism and building up mechanisms of economic development and co-operation for the whole world community.

If we are to succeed, we need a peaceful, favourable international environment where nobody suffers too much and where everybody has a chance. Naturally, there are differing priorities as to courses of development. The wealthier part of the world is in a process of economic integration. Europe at present is seeking ways towards integration not only in the economic sphere but also in the political and social spheres, and perhaps in defence as well. Most countries of the South have other priorities: the need to cope with hunger, population explosion, debt, falling prices of their traditional products and raw materials, lack of investments, an inadequate infrastructure, insufficient levels of know-how and a lack of access to modern technologies.

We know well from our own experience what it means to have a malfunctioning economy which creates a system of ever-present shortages and what consequences that entails for the life of the society in economic and moral terms. This is also the reason why we do not want to see confirmed the anxieties that a part of development assistance, already insufficient, might be drawn off because of the needs of Central and Eastern Europe.

In the past, development assistance was shrouded in numerous illusions, many

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of them voiced also in our Organization. But even in the form it took and the extent to which it was provided, such assistance has resulted in a lot of good. Yet, fundamental issues have remained unresolved. At times development aid was turned into an instrument of ideological rivalry in third world countries, with the East-West conflict looming in the background. At present, nothing could be worse than the replacement of the disappearing cold war bipolarity by a new North-South bipolarity.

One hundred years ago, Rudyard Kipling said: "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet". For the author of the Jungle Book, admirer of Asia, Africa and the golden schools of fish at Mandalay, the difference in civilizations between his England and his India seemed impossible to overcome. From the mechanical viewpoint of that century, he could not foresee the age of computers. From the period of colonial empires and clearly geographically defined interests, he could not envision our global civilization, where we can already determine common principles leading to the success or failure of our activities. Now, even a minor issue can become a global one - a conflict of religions or nationalities in the Middle East also makes itself felt through murders at an airport in Rome or the Olympics in Munich.

We Czechs and Slovaks highly value our own national identity. Throughout our history, we had to struggle to preserve it. That is perhaps one of the reasons why we know that the identity of peoples cannot be confused with the political intentions of those who seek to stay in power or to gain power by fomenting fanaticism, be it of a nationalist, religious or ideological nature.

Thus, we do not consider Saddam Hussein's attack on Kuwait to be just a regional matter confined, let us say, to the Middle East. We perceive it to be an attack on the fundamental rules of coexistence among nations and States. These rules are also enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Once we have

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succeeded in reaching the point where we are beginning to speak the same language, we should not let this opportunity of the world community slip out of our hands. Those who do not understand this or who do not want to understand this, those who would attempt to make use of the current situation to settle some problem of their own, jeopardize not only that opportunity and the international community, but also, ultimately, themselves.

This is certainly an emotional moment for me, personally, but I deem it much more important that my country has ended the long nightmare that befell a large part of the world and that was also impeding the activities of the United Nations. Although we had to exert efforts of our own to make the revolutionary change happen, we would not have been successful without the support and assistance of all democratic and freedom-loving countries and forces of the world community. These included the seven courageous Russians who demonstrated at Red Square against the occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the Polish Solidarity movement, members of the Congress of the United States and members of both Western European and American human rights movements, writers and politicians, people like Francois Mitterrand, Olof Palme and Andrei Sakharov, all of whom have supported us through personal contacts. I am naming but a few of those who have always known that the struggle for human rights, freedom and democracy is universal, that if we allow injustice to exist elsewhere, it can appear on our doorstep as well. They have also included those Soviet politicians who, like Mikhail Gorbachev or Eduard Shevardnadze were not afraid to open a window to the world and set in motion the democratization of their own society.

Czechoslovak foreign policy is now independent and ready to bear its share of responsibility for the future of the international community.

First of all, we had to normalize our relations with our neighbours. We wish

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to participate in the economic integration of Europe and to contribute in an active manner towards creating common human rights standards and a common European economic, legal, environmental, cultural and security structure. We wish to become a full member of the Council of Europe. We want to make a contribution to the institutionalization of the process established by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). We have put forward specific proposals. We are offering Prague as the host city of a permanent CSCE secretariat.

Our interest in building a united Europe also determines our stand on the unification of Germany. Czechoslovakia considers the forming of a single Germany as an act in implementation of the German people's right to self-determination, the outcome of a democratic process and a prerequisite for definitively overcoming the division of Europe and for settling the outstanding issues of the Second World War.

This year the United Nations ranks have grown even more with new Members joining the Organization. We have welcomed in our midst the long-awaited independent and free Namibia. We admitted Liechtenstein a few days ago. It gives me great pleasure to express my congratulations to both new Members from this rostrum. The principle of universality of our Organization requires that it grant membership to all independent countries that show an interest in joining it, as is the case with the Republic of Korea at present.

(Mr. Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia)

Freed from the shackles of confrontation, the United Nations now offers a wide range of opportunities for the advancement of international co-operation in all fields. For our part we shall do our utmost to that end. We reaffirmed this during the visit of the Organization's Secretary-General to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic this year. We are now offering a spacious palace in Bratislava, with numerous halls and conference rooms, no more than 60 kilometres from Vienna, for activities of the Vienna International Centre.

We shall continue to support the peace efforts of the United Nations. Beginning next year we shall be ready to send, upon the request of the Security Council, a battalion-strength military unit to join in United Nations peace-keeping operations. We are prepared to act as mediators in the settlement of conflicts if we are requested to do so. It is our conviction that crises have to be settled solely on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Negotiation and the striving for compromise is, in our opinion, the only possible way out for the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus and elsewhere. Peaceful rather than violent means should be sought to eliminate the shameful system of apartheid.

Agreements on arms limitation and disarmament require verification and confidence-building measures. Therefore, we shall continue to publish data on our military expenditures according to United Nations guidelines. At the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva we shall contribute towards elaborating binding international instruments. We intend to become a party to the convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons as soon as it is finalized. We have published detailed information on our peacetime chemical potential. We have tested the feasibility of challenge inspections at chemical plants, as well as in military facilities. We have withdrawn our earlier reservation to the 1925 Geneva Protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons in war. We are encouraging endeavours aimed at achieving a general and complete nuclear-weapon-test ban and we

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shall take an active part in the Conference on the Moscow partial test-ban Treaty in January 1991.

We attach particular importance to the activities of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights. We are committed to this stand in view of the genesis of our revolution, and in view of our membership of the Commission on Human Rights from the beginning of next year - for the first time since the Commission was founded. We shall accede to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and sign the Second Optional Protocol to the same Covenant concerning the abolition of capital punishment. We are preparing to accede to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and to the relevant Protocol. We are also making preparations for the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights. My country and Austria have co-sponsored at the current session of the General Assembly a proposal for the conclusion of an additional protocol on consular functions to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

Our endeavour to build up a country fully governed by the rule of law is inseparably linked with support for the rule of international law in inter-State relations. We are therefore withdrawing our reservations to the provisions in international conventions on obligatory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. I could name here a number of other steps through which we are seeking, often with a delay of several decades, to redress the consequences of the narrow-minded ideological approach of the undemocratic governments of my country to the development of the international community. But we want more than that: we want to learn from the experience of the past 40 years and use the resulting lessons not only for our own benefit but offer it to be used for the benefit of all.

The aim of our peaceful democratic revolution was first and foremost to free men and women from fear, to restore to them their human dignity and freedom of

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expression, freedom to elect their own representatives and to build a State under the rule of law, to give our citizens the possibility of taking personal responsibility for their lives, for their work and its outcome. Thus in yet another part of the world there is now a growing belief that first we are human beings and citizens and only after that whites or blacks, Catholics, Muslims, or people without religion, Czechs, Slovaks, Americans, Chinese, Arabs or Jews, rich or poor, educated or illiterate, Westerners or Easterners, Northerners or Southerners. The colour of our skin, our nationality, religion or political convictions constitute personal characteristics that neither give us a right to put ourselves above others nor make us inferior. This applies to personal relations, to domestic and foreign policies of countries, and also to United Nations activities. Never again should the United Nations adopt one-sided positions that impair its credibility, such as it did once in the resolution identifying Zionism with racism.

It is my opinion that the time has come for the United Nations to carry its original underlying idea further by formulating principles that would represent the common heritage of the development of the whole human civilization, principles that have proved to be an essential pre-condition for the successful development of any society, regardless of the part of the globe in which it lives. We have a worthy foundation in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international human rights covenants. We hope that all United Nations Members will adopt these documents as their own and that efforts will be made to ensure their uniform interpretation and consistent implementation.

But let us go still further: let us try to formulate principles of conduct for the world community to follow, so as to create a world economic space where each and every society, regardless of the level of its development and specific cultural traditions, would find its place, a world where opportunities and a chance

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of resolving social issues through prosperity, of raising the level of education and of having the voice of its national culture heard in the concert of world culture would be assured.

This relates also to the environment surrounding us. The United Nations is certainly the forum best suited for the formulation and assertion of common principles for the conservation and improvement of the environment. We know from our own experience that interference with nature in one part of the globe influences the destiny of us all. We shall discuss this subject at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development to be held in Brazil. I hope that it will produce binding principles and set in motion broadly conceived programmes. In his message to the President of the Commission of the European Community, Jacques Delors, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, proposed that the European Community, together with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, set up a programme aimed at a continent-wide solution of environmental problems.

I have already stated that after overcoming East-West bipolarity we can and must work harder than before to bridge the North-South gap. The conclusions drawn at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly on the revitalization of economic growth can be inspiring but financial resources remain the essential factor. I am afraid that the present conflict in the Persian Gulf will again substantially limit the possibilities for development assistance. Already today, as a result of rising oil prices, the situation of many countries is becoming critical. However, financial grants or loans to the developing world cannot be seen as the only rescue.

(Mr. Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia)

We have to look for other solutions as well. For instance, we must activate co-operation within regions or development areas. One of the available options might consist in the application of the plan I outlined at Harvard University last May for stabilization of Central Europe and the USSR. We have suggested that the wealthiest States of the world set up a fund in the form of a dollar loan to the Soviet Union. That fund, to be administered by an international bank, such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, would be used to pay for supplies from Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian enterprises to the USSR. These enterprises would be required to invest a part of their dollar earnings in their own modernization. The Soviet Union would undertake to invest the rouble equivalent of the sum paid from the fund in the development of its own economy. Nobody would get any money in advance; payments would be committed to specific effective programmes under the supervision of the respective bank. The stimulating effect of such operations on the development of local industries is evident. Such a proposal offers, of course, just a model that could be elaborated so as to suit the specific conditions in individual cases. Most of the attempts made so far involving an active donor and a passive recipient have failed. Why not try some other ways?

Over the 45 years of its existence, the United Nations has gone through many a twist of fate. Yet, despite all drawbacks, it survived even the worst times of the cold war. Every third Tuesday in September those who would not have met otherwise met in this Hall: a thin thread connecting the international community was still there.

The end of bipolar confrontation, linked with the sweeping changes in Central and Eastern Europe, is making possible a renaissance of the ideas enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. I am confident that it is the United Nations through which the new era of co-operation, in an area extending from San Francisco to

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Vladivostok, will be projected into co-operation with the South, and that this will create the essential pre-conditions and make available the resources that are necessary to eradicate poverty and to solve the problems of the environment.

One of the founding fathers of the United Nations - Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, son of our first President - pointed out, as long ago as 1947, that there are four cardinal points, not just east and west. In vain did he call for the forging of a democratic chain to encircle the whole globe. After the fall of democracy in Czechoslovakia in 1948 he tragically ended his life with a fall from a window of Cernin Palace, the seat of our Foreign Ministry. Sometimes I take my visitors to that window, thinking about how he would rejoice to see that we are again taking up this dream of his with renewed hope. Let me therefore conclude my statement with the same words with which he concluded his at the first General Assembly session: "So onward United Nations, marching as to peace".

Mr. ITURRALDE BALLIVIAN (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, allow me to express warmest congratulations to Mr. Guido de Marco upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this forty-fifth session. Given his personal qualities, his presence here is a guarantee of evenhandedness and fairness.

Allow me also to pay a tribute of admiration and support to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and, through him, to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

We wish on this occasion to welcome to our Organization the Principality of Liechtenstein, confident that it will make a valuable contribution to the continuing efforts of the United Nations and its Members for a better world.

We likewise hail the presence in our midst of a free and independent Namibia, which throughout its struggle enjoyed the support of my country.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

We are living in amazing times, when unusual, sometimes unforeseeable, changes have occurred and continue to occur - changes that are of the greatest import to the history of mankind. We have seen the collapse of anachronistic political confrontation, a vigorous resurgence of democracy, broader respect for human rights, and other positive developments that allow us a glimpse of better times for future generations. But, unfortunately, we are far from living in an ideal world. There persist enormous inequalities between the developed and the developing countries, and, despite the new climate of détente and dialogue, we can still see conflicts bringing destruction and suffering to some regions. Moreover, political liberty still requires the firm underpinning of economic liberty.

Just when we thought that the new mood of dialogue and détente would finally hold sway in international relations we were taken unawares by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Bolivia - a country long dedicated to peace, supported the resolutions of the Security Council.

Consistent with its tradition of pacifism and strict compliance with the principles of the Charter, Bolivia believes that the time has come to address regional problems in a climate marked by rational and constructive dialogue. In this regard, we call upon the parties to the Cambodian problem to spare no effort to arrive at a peaceful and negotiated solution under the auspices of the Organization.

With regard to the situation in the Middle East, Bolivia, as it has done in the past, will support every effort aimed at a negotiated solution - in particular, the proposal to hold an international peace conference, under United Nations auspices, in which all parties concerned would participate.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing German unity are bound to give us great satisfaction. We believe these events to be indicative of the new course in relations between East and West, for this is the peaceful destruction, by the will of a people, of one of the last of the stigmas that are a legacy of the Second World War.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

My country is observing with high hopes the process being pursued by the Governments of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Korea in this new climate of détente and dialogue. We fraternally urge both parties to exert every effort towards reunification, for the benefit, ultimately, of the noble Korean people.

We, the States Members of the Organization, have other urgent problems to face on the heavy-laden agenda of the Assembly.

The scourge of drug trafficking and drug addiction continues to afflict all people. Its frightful prevalence, matched only by the arms race, has already spread all over the world. It is safe to say that no society is free from this evil.

The illicit profits from drug trafficking have found their way into the formal economic channels and are a source of corruption, violence and destabilization of the democratic processes attained by our peoples at so great a cost.

Much remains to be done in our joint endeavour to eradicate drug trafficking and to save its victims. We should, however, recognize that important, meaningful steps have been taken to that end. We hail the entry into force of the United Nations Convention on Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, of which my country is already a signatory.

Bolivia has offered ample evidence of its political determination to eradicate this evil. Just a year ago, in this same forum, the President of Bolivia, Jaime Paz Zamora, presented to the international community the broad outlines of the thesis of "Alternative Development", the key elements of which are the creation of new sources of employment, growth and diversification of exports, the attraction of increased capital flows, and the opening of new markets.

Bolivia approaches the resolution of the problems linked to coca and its derivatives through a national development strategy that seeks, not just crop

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

substitution, but substitution of the coca economy, a task which requires the involvement of the producer countries and the rest of the world community.

We can afford no delay in introducing new patterns of production that will provide farmers employed in planting coca leaves with an alternative livelihood, and this implies a change in the structural process of socio-economic development.

Bolivia has put forward the thesis of alternative development on various occasions and in different forums. That thesis has been recognized and incorporated in various international documents, but we are still awaiting fruitful and realistic international joint action. Its full acceptance allows us to believe that its implementation will lead us to the resolution of this problem. We reiterate today that the success of alternative development will be the result not only of the efforts of the Bolivian people and Government, but also of the positive economic and trade response of the international community.

Another item that deserves priority attention at this session of the Assembly is the environment. Dire poverty brings environmental deterioration in its wake, and this in turn leads to a vicious cycle of ecological blight and human misery.

In Bolivia, environmental protection and conservation have taken on new dimensions and concrete measures have been adopted. We have declared an "ecological moratorium" throughout Bolivian territory for five years, beginning with the present administration, which will mark a milestone in the dynamic relationship between development processes and the protection of nature. Protection of the environment is the expression of the political will of the people and Government of Bolivia to break with the irrational past in the management of our natural resources. It also reflects Bolivia's response to the international community's concern with this issue.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

As regards the environment and development, Bolivia holds that protection of the environment must be harmonized with the processes of development and economic growth so urgently needed by poor countries. Conservation of nature cannot imply condemning our peoples to backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment. On the contrary, the mechanisms that link the environment and development will have to be based on strategies for rational economic growth, always linked with respect for the interests of the international community and the region in question.

Bolivia views President Bush's Americas Initiative as an innovative alternative designed to mitigate the onerous burden of external debt while simultaneously bringing sufficient resources to bear on an active programme to preserve the environment.

We are confident that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, in which Bolivia will take an active part, will give rise to practical, effective decisions with regard to the solution of this problem in conformity with the principles laid down by the General Assembly in resolution 44/228 and the preparatory process for the world Conference so auspiciously begun in Nairobi last August.

I must also mention a problem which weighs heavily upon my country and which has been the subject of numerous debates in this Organization as well as in regional organizations for many years. I refer to Bolivia's land-locked status.

In this same forum last year Bolivia's President recalled that when it lost its Pacific Ocean territory Bolivia also ceased to be a maritime nation, as it had been upon attaining independence. The President addressed an appeal to the countries involved to face this problem in the new integration-minded spirit that befits the twenty-first century.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

It is in that spirit of fellow-feeling and integration that we turn to the Assembly. Bolivia once again calls upon the international community to grasp the importance of this problem, which the Organization of America States (OAS) has repeatedly declared to be one with hemispheric implications.

In this period of major changes, when old differences are being overcome by political will and constructive imagination, it is incomprehensible to the Bolivian people that the problem of its land-locked status, rooted in the past century, should not be resolved on the basis of fraternal dialogue and commonality of interests.

(Mr. Iturralde Ballivian, Bolivia)

Bolivia is convinced that the solution of many of the problems besetting Latin America can be found only through integration. It is in that spirit, and by virtue of our geographical position, which makes Bolivia a crossroads, that we are taking part resolutely and optimistically in processes of integration and co-operation such as the Latin American Integration Association, the Latin American Economic System, the Andean Group and the Plata Basin and the Amazon Pact, initiatives which are intended to focus efforts and harmonize action in pursuit of their respective objectives.

With respect to co-operation and development for the elimination of poverty, permit me to speak briefly about my country's economic and political situation and about the Bolivian people's efforts to achieve a better life within a democratic, pluralistic system with full respect for human rights.

The economic process in Bolivia has been examined in various forums and by various world leaders. The success of an economic and financial stabilization policy has checked galloping inflation and instability has been acknowledged. This was no easy matter for the Bolivian people. Each citizen was required to make a great measure of sacrifice and to postpone the attainment of their most legitimate rights and aspirations for a better life. We have not yet resolved structural problems that are basic to socio-economic development. We have been unable to improve the level of employment, which has been further constrained by economic and financial adjustments. We have not alleviated the health problems affecting the inhabitants of my country, and the benefits of education are not reaching vast sectors of the population.

The necessary economic revitalization that was to follow the stabilization process is proving slow and difficult. Our development continues to be hampered by the adverse effects of the 1980s, such as unequal trade relations and international

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finance, the collapse of commodity prices and, principally, the crushing burden of external debt.

I now have the honour to address the Assembly on behalf of the Group of 77, since my country, Bolivia, is the current Chairman of that important group of 127 developing States Members of the United Nations.

The Group of 77 has on many occasions expressed its concern at the economic stagnation of our countries throughout the past decade. But it should be stressed that a new political turning-point has been reached by the Members of the United Nations with the adoption by consensus of the historic Declaration of the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to international economic co-operation, in particular to the revitalization of economic growth and development of the developing countries. That gave rise to new hopes.

I urge the international community to take the steps needed to put into practice without delay the commitments and policies set out in that Declaration. Likewise we appeal to the international community to adopt and implement the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade, which is now in the final phase of negotiation. The Group of 77 views the Strategy as eminently suitable for finally overcoming the economic lag with which the majority of our countries are grappling today.

I wish also to express our concern over the possible impact on the economies of developing countries of the series of structural changes taking place in the world economy.

We are witnessing important political and economic changes which, together with the international community's growing awareness of the common problems we face, are bringing about a new pattern of international relations.

Those changes and transformations are leading to an increasing globalization of the economy and to greater interdependence among countries. While each State

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and each nation is responsible for adopting its own policy for economic development, such policies depend also on the existence of a favourable international economic environment. Because interdependence has different effects on different countries depending on their capacities and their impact on the world economy, it can advance the development policies of developing countries, or it can hamper them and cause them to fail. Accordingly, that process must be handled with greater equity and justice in order to avoid the increasing marginalization of developing countries, especially in the financial, trade and technological spheres. Such marginalization could have grave consequences with respect to improving the possibilities and standard of living of more than three quarters of the world's population.

My country, Bolivia, wants fervently to ensure that all these statements may help strengthen the universal task of ensuring peace, development and integration in the democratic world, which made this a historic century through the establishment of the United Nations.

Mr. GHOZALI (Algeria) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives the Algerian delegation great satisfaction to see you, Sir, presiding over the work of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. In electing you to the presidency, the Assembly paid a well deserved tribute to your well-known personal and professional qualities and to Malta, with which Algeria has long enjoyed relations of friendship, understanding and co-operation. As I convey to you our warm congratulations, I wish to assure you of the friendly and complete co-operation of the Algerian delegation.

Our congratulations and fraternal greetings go also to your predecessor, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria. The ability, wisdom and devotion he displayed during his term deserve our gratitude.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

It is always a pleasant duty for my delegation to reiterate its gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts that so perfectly embody the commitment of the United Nations and its irreplaceable service to peace and development.

The people of Yemen are now represented in this Assembly by a single delegation. Algeria is proud, joyful and satisfied at this, and we reiterate our warm good wishes to that fraternal people which is now reunified.

We also welcome among us the delegation of Liechtenstein, which we congratulate on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

The great transformations which have been taking place on the international scene and the resultant clean break with the cold war, herald the emergence of a new political order. New joint action and co-operation signal the end to earlier antagonisms between the two super-Powers. It is only fair to recognize that this has already had positive effects, if only because it has paved the way to the resolution of certain regional conflicts, consolidated the process of disarmament and affirmed the promotion of co-operation and security in Europe, making it possible in the heart of that continent for the peaceful reunification of Germany.

In that connection, Algeria conveys its warmest wishes to the German people, which is about to celebrate its unity. We also express the hope that a reunified Germany will use its economic and political power to strengthen world peace and security and to bolster international solidarity and economic co-operation.

While it is only fair to acknowledge the potential benefits of all these developments, it would do no harm to point out that by and large they have affected only one part of the planet: In the other part, the South, all we see is the persistence, even the deterioration, of negative situations. There is an increasing contrast between the new prospects opening towards greater security,

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freedom and well-being on the one hand, and ever-increasing injustice, violence and underdevelopment on the other. This indicates the magnitude of the challenges involved in establishing a new political order that can respond to the fundamental needs of all mankind.

There is not a more telling illustration of the magnitude of the challenge than the tragedy of the Palestinian people. International law has been constantly flouted in the Middle East: the repression of the Palestinian people and its intifadah is daily growing more systematic, harsher and more inhuman; the rejection of peace has grown more obdurate; and, through the arrangement of mass emigration of European Jewish citizens to the occupied territories, Israel's expansionist option is more than ever openly avowed.

It was in the midst of this clear deterioration of the situation in the region that the Gulf crisis burst upon us with its attendant grave dangers for the entire Arab world and the threats it poses to international peace and security. For Algeria, this crisis is a new and deep wound in its flesh. We abhor the use of force to settle disputes, particularly since, in this case, the rift is having the double effect of casting the fraternal people of Kuwait into total distress and of exposing another fraternal country, Iraq, to being weakened or even potential destruction. Both those effects are equally unacceptable. We must also consider all the foreign workers living in those two sister countries, who face the horror of destitution and exile and the anguish of an uncertain future.

When the crisis broke out, Algeria made very clear its commitment to international legality, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the norms and principles of international law, and firmly advocated a negotiated Arab solution free from any direct or indirect foreign pressure or interference. My

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country also noted that the responsibilities of States and of the international community in this crisis must be aimed above all at the victory of reason over any logic of war, particularly since the direct involvement of foreign forces in the region on an unprecedented scale would likely exacerbate confrontation, a development that is bound to have a serious effect on the peoples and countries of the region, and the international community which will not escape its effect.

That is why we believe it is essential for the parties involved to display the greatest possible restraint in order to make possible the search for a solution by all appropriate political and diplomatic means.

Since the United Nations was founded to save mankind from the scourge of war and not to contribute in any way to creating new suffering, recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter must not give rise to any doubts and must result from a faithful interpretation of the spirit and the letter of all the provisions of the Charter. In that connection, Algeria has drawn attention to the danger that concern only with the effectiveness of economic sanctions, which will starve the Iraqi and Kuwaiti peoples, could ultimately clash with the international law of humanity.

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It must be recognized today that the international community has all too often let flagrant violations of international law go unpunished. In the Middle East in particular, Israel's occupation of Arab territories since 1967 and its subsequent annexation of the Golan and El Quds, followed by its repeated invasions of Lebanon and occupation of the southern part of that country, as well as its repeated aggression against Tunisia in 1986 and 1988, the air raid against Iraq in 1981, and finally its systematic suppression of the Palestinian intifadah have all been the subjects of United Nations resolutions that Israel has rejected out of hand and openly flouted.

Therefore, it is our profound hope and urgent appeal that, in order to promote an unequivocal consensus on the Gulf crisis, the Security Council will display the same commitment, determination and unity of action to ensure the full and strict implementation of the pertinent United Nations decisions, so as to bring about a just and comprehensive solution that would put a definitive end to the conflict in the Middle East and restore to the Palestinian people all their legitimate rights, including their right to their own independent State.

Towards that end, the appropriate framework will be the international conference on peace in the Middle East, on which there is broad unanimity, especially with regard to the essential participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Similarly, it is our hope that the Security Council will bring to bear its full authority to put an end to the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon and thus enable the legitimate Government of Lebanon to exercise full sovereignty over its entire territory.

In close co-operation with the two other members of the High Arab Tripartite Committee, Algeria will continue to work relentlessly to restore a unified,

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sovereign, peaceful and prosperous Lebanon. We very much welcome the fact that the Lebanese Parliament has adopted constitutional reforms, and we would like to congratulate the legitimate Government and institutions of Lebanon on this progress towards national consensus.

Finally, we would appeal for international support for the setting up of an international assistance fund to Lebanon, as recently decided.

Pursuant to Security Council resolution 598 (1987) and on the basis of the Algiers Agreements of 1975, Iraq and Iran have taken the initiative of settling all aspects of their dispute, thus putting an end, after the cessation of hostilities, to a long period of truce that could not, however, be called peace. Because Algiers spared no effort in working for that happy outcome, Algeria finds cause for self-congratulation in the fact that those two Muslim countries have embarked on the path of lasting peace and understanding, which is the only way towards friendship and co-operation between their two peoples. It is Algeria's hope that a peaceful solution of the current crisis will be an incentive to all the Gulf States to embark on the same path and thus restore the trust and co-operation which will free the Gulf and its States from foreign interference.

The reaction of the Arab peoples to the Gulf crisis is closely linked to the discriminatory handling of the violations of international law that have been committed with impunity in the region. This has convinced the Arab peoples that the international community applies a double standard, which very naturally nurtures a profound feeling of injustice. It is equally clear that that reaction also reflects strong aspirations after inter-Arab solidarity, that would rise to the level of the profound attachment of the Arab peoples to the Arab nation, a solidarity that is so essential if we are to eliminate all divisive factors which tend to weaken the ability of Arabs to take charge of their common destiny.

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It is because they share that conviction that the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), which recently met under the presidency of President Chadli Bendjedid, are constantly striving to consolidate the march towards unity upon which they have embarked.

Within the framework of permanent machinery for concerted and co-ordinated action to achieve common goals, specific and concrete actions strengthen at every stage a process that is in full accord with the requirements of the times and which is further carried forward by the irresistible will of the peoples of the region, whom a common cultural heritage naturally prompts to base their hopes for development and prosperity on their striving for unity.

The meeting in Algiers last June of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries - the third after La Valette and Brioni - proved to be extremely timely in view of the need to evaluate in common the new facts of the international, economic, and political situation and its impact on the Mediterranean non-aligned countries.

In that connection, the Conference considered ways and means of intensifying dialogue and co-operation with their partners in the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe with a view to meeting the legitimate concerns of the European Economic Community Mediterranean Countries, widening the scope of consultation between the two sides of the Mediterranean and setting up an institutionalized framework for such consultation.

Much has happened in Europe that is now actively paving the way towards a new economic and security situation in that continent. It is the hope and resolve of our countries that the Mediterranean dimension, which has been marginalized in recent times, will assume its full historic importance in the light of the common challenge of security and development, which should be established and strengthened to the advantage of all the coastal States if they are to be realized.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

In more ways than one, 1990 could be called the year of the United Nations. In Namibia, the United Nations amply demonstrated its great ability to implement the independence plan it had conceived. In South Africa, it has gone every step of the way in the struggle of the South African people to restore their inalienable rights in a unified and democratic society. The legalization of political struggle in South Africa and the initiation of a long-awaited dialogue that would truly dismantle apartheid are the results of international pressure. Therefore, it is essential to be vigilant when we see that divisive and diversionary tactics as well as repression still pose a threat to those objectives.

The United Nations stand on the side of the collective African will already bears fruit and gives us every reason to hope that a solution will soon be found to the problem of Western Sahara. The joint good offices of the current president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, which as recently as August 1988 led to the presentation of peace proposals acceptable to both parties to the conflict - the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front - have resulted, last June, in the drawing up of a genuine settlement plan which was subsequently endorsed by Security Council resolution 658 (1990).

Algeria welcomes this crucial stage in the process which aims at the organization and supervision by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, of a referendum on self-determination for the people of the Western Sahara without any administrative or military constraints.

My country wishes to reiterate its tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to the current president of the OAU for their efforts in that context. They know that they can count on Algeria's full support and co-operation in their efforts to finalize the settlement plan and to ensure its impartial implementation.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

National reconciliation processes supported by international dialogue and encouraged by the United Nations with a view to reaching peaceful settlement of certain regional conflicts are designed to serve the same goal - namely, to facilitate and support the free choice by peoples of their leaders, their economic and social systems, and their institutions as well as to preserve the sovereignty, independence, unity and very often - as in the case of Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cyprus - the non-aligned status of such countries. This also applies to the Korean peninsula, where the meeting between the two Prime Ministers of those two Governments represents progress towards the peaceful reunification of Korea. This is progress that Algeria welcomes and encourages.

While the integration of the Eastern countries into the world economy has from the outset aroused resolute support on the part of the international community, since it provides fresh prospects for greater prosperity in the North, the simultaneous deterioration of the economic situation in the developing countries and the tragic widening of the North-South gap bear witness to the aggravation of the imbalances created by the international economic system.

The spread of poverty, which has been further exacerbated by the harshness of structural adjustment programmes, external indebtedness, deterioration in the terms of trade, and malfunctions in the international trade and monetary systems, have all demonstrated that international co-operation in the area of development remains outside the ambit of the renewals now so characteristic of international political relations.

In this, the United Nations system has a major role to play, in view of the intimate link between peace and development. The revitalization of growth of the developing countries was defined by the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly last April as the most important challenge of the 1990s.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

It is important that the consensus that emerged on that occasion in favour of a Declaration on international economic co-operation should take a concrete form that would be commensurate with the commitment to enable international co-operation to rise to the challenge of development. Similarly, the programme of action in favour of the least developed countries which was recently adopted in Paris deserves even more determined support from the international community to put an end to economic regression and to lay the foundations of economic development in those particularly vulnerable countries.

More generally speaking, the resuscitation of the North-South dialogue is a necessary target if we are to promote international economic relations that are fairer and more equitable. South-South co-operation is a fundamental principle of Algeria's policies. We are convinced that promoting varied trade between the countries of the South is a very promising dimension in international economic relations and a vital necessity if the developing countries wish to rise to the status of full-fledged partners in a world that is undergoing fundamental changes.

In this context, the creation of a summit consultative group on South-South co-operation, whose first summit was held in Kuala Lumpur in June 1990, is likely to give concrete meaning and decisive political thrust to South-South co-operation.

The report of the South Commission with respect to international co-operation in general and South-South co-operation in particular must be viewed as a valuable contribution. It is based on innovative thinking and advocates a fruitful approach and realistic steps which we owe it to ourselves to take into account both individually and collectively. I should like here to pay a fraternal tribute to a great man and worthy son of Africa, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, as well as to the entire membership of the South Commission over which he presides.

(Mr. Ghozali, Algeria)

Any new outlook in international relations should be a reflection of the international will and should be based, therefore, on the contributions of all States in a context of co-equality regardless of their international weight, their level of economic development or their military might. This means that if the United Nations is to be an impartial tool of the collective will and collective action, it must constantly ensure respect for the rules of objectivity and equality of treatment. The United Nations is the very embodiment of all the best that humanity desires for itself. The vision that the United Nations has of the world cannot therefore be identified with that held by any particular State or group of States. Transcending strategies and interests defined in terms of restricted economic circles and exclusive military clubs, it is rather by merging individual advantage and common cause that this noble work can be accomplished.

That vision demands a great deal of the Members of our Organization, particularly of those who have power and prosperity in their favour. It requires that they be exemplary in their behaviour in the international arena. In effect, their individual and collective contributions will be decisive in strengthening international peace and security and bringing about the international economic co-operation that would promote sound development.

Peace in the world will be much more effectively guaranteed if economic development is more widely shared. It is our profound hope that the United Nations will work to provide humanity with what may prove to be its most valuable asset.

Mr. ELLEMANN-JENSEN (Denmark): I congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. I am confident that you, like your predecessor, will give us wise guidance in our efforts to achieve tangible results at this session.

When the founders of this Organization met in San Francisco in 1945 they had a common vision: a vision of a peaceful world where peoples lived in tolerance as good neighbours, a world of equal rights of men and women, of nations large and small, a world of social progress and better standards of life in greater freedom - all based on a firm belief in the dignity and worth of the human person.

This vision has only partly materialized. We have not yet been able to save our planet from the scourge of war. Fundamental human rights are still being violated in many countries, causing human suffering and heavy flows of refugees. Freedom and democracy remain elusive in too many nations. Hunger and poverty afflict millions of people.*

And new scourges have emerged: the ugly face of terrorism, the degradation caused by drugs, the environmental problems, the dreaded and deadly virus causing acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) - to mention but a few.

However, there is no reason to despair. On the contrary, important parts of the vision are being realized, and increasingly so. An invigorated world Organization is assuming its responsibility in an atmosphere of growing co-operation and realism, determined to settle disputes by peaceful means based on the rule of law. The tide is changing. Peace, freedom and democracy are gaining ground. We must counter any attempt to stem that tide.

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* Mr. Flemming (Saint Lucia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

Our first priority should be to prevent the use of aggression and military power for political ends. We must make it abundantly clear that military aggression will never be tolerated, will never succeed, will never pay.

Iraq's naked aggression against a peaceful neighbour, Kuwait, represents the most blatant violation of all fundamental principles of international law. Its demand that foreign embassies in Kuwait be closed is totally unacceptable. Its use of foreign citizens as bombing shields is an abhorrent breach of basic human principles. Those committing these heinous acts will be held personally responsible and must be brought to justice in accordance with international law. The increasing violence and pillage by the occupying forces in Kuwait represent barbaric acts that must be condemned by the world community.

The world community faced Iraqi's aggression with determination and unanimity. For the first time the Security Council - acting under Chapter VII of the Charter - decided on far-reaching mandatory sanctions against an aggressor. Security Council resolution 661 (1990) and, not least, resolution 665 (1990) on the enforcement of the mandatory sanctions represent hallmarks in the history of the United Nations, and just half an hour ago, as we sat in this Hall, the Security Council again lived up to its responsibilities.

Denmark firmly believes in the need for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Gulf. This requires the full use of all the instruments of the United Nations, embodied in the Charter, and contributions from all members of the world community.

The mandatory sanctions must be made as effective as at all possible and must be enforced rigorously. To ensure a broadly based international effort, Denmark, for its part, has decided to send a naval vessel to the Gulf to participate in the enforcement of the mandatory sanctions in accordance with resolution 665 (1990). We feel that the United Nations must play as central a role as possible in the

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co-ordination of the multinational efforts to ensure strict implementation of the sanctions. This would strengthen the Organization's position in respect of future conflicts and would bring us closer to the establishment of the collective security system envisaged by its founding fathers.

At the same time, we must not forget the grave humanitarian problems caused by Iraq's aggression. Denmark, like many other nations, has already contributed to alleviation of the plight of the countless refugees. But more must be done. And we must strengthen the abilities of the United Nations system in this respect as well.

Nothing short of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the re-establishment of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait will be acceptable. We must demonstrate clearly, once and for all, that aggression will never pay. Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait represent a blemish on an otherwise positive political situation in the world at large.

When historians look back on this century they will no doubt regard the year 1990 as the most important in the post-war period. And they will probably focus on the tremendous changes in Europe, on the closing chapters of what used to be called the cold war.

Developments in Europe have given new hope to millions of people around the globe. Past confrontations have been replaced by co-operation. The divisive wall through Europe has literally crumbled. In Eastern and Central Europe freedom and democracy are rapidly emerging. Pluralistic political systems and free market economies are being developed with vigour and enthusiasm.

The most prominent expression of the new era is the unification of Germany. A unified Germany will, in a few days, take its proper place in our world Organization. And in Europe, Germany will play its role in the context of the

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European Community, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other multilateral organizations. We congratulate the German people on their achievement.

New structures are emerging in Europe. A dynamic European Community continues on its path towards closer political and economic co-operation. It does so with unreserved openness towards other countries, with a firm determination to live up to its responsibility and make its contribution to a stronger and more democratic Europe, and with a wish to give practical expression to its political and economic support for the budding democracies in East and Central Europe.

The dramatic events in Europe expressed the will of the ordinary citizens. It was the people who made the revolution. But all this had not been possible without the courage and foresight demonstrated by President Mikhail Gorbachev, or without the new partnership between the United States and the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

One of the very positive results of President Gorbachev's reforms has been the free elections this spring in the three Baltic republics - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Only a tragic history has prevented the Baltic peoples from taking their place among the free nations of Europe. They should be here today, and one they will be. The three Baltic republics were members of the League of Nations as independent States for some 20 years. Denmark recognized the Baltic republics in 1921 and never accepted their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940. We support their efforts to give real substance to their formal independence. We hope that before long they will be allowed to shoulder their responsibility as full-fledged participants in international co-operation. We realize that difficult problems will have to be solved in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We appeal to the parties concerned to show flexibility and goodwill in this endeavour.

A firm foundation has already been laid for a future Europe living in peace, freedom and democracy. Major contributions have been made within the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). At the second meeting, in Copenhagen in June, of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE Process the CSCE States adopted a historic document - a freedom charter, containing basic principles for the development of pluralistic democracies based on respect for human rights, including free elections, freedom of expression and the free political choice of the individual.

The CSCE process has other important dimensions, however. It has the potential to be a key element in a new European structure, bridging the old divide in Europe and enhancing security and co-operation on our continent. We are confident that the summit meeting of the CSCE States in Paris this autumn will advance that goal significantly.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

We are convinced that the coming transformation of the CSCE will also enable the participating States to make a better contribution to world peace and security. And we trust that the meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the CSCE countries here in New York early next week will contribute to the further development of the CSCE process.

There will be no peaceful world without disarmament on a world-wide scale - disarmament covering all categories of weapons: nuclear, conventional and chemical. We are encouraged by the progress made in the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear forces. The possibility of signing a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) by the end of the year seems within reach.

Optimism seems justified in the field of conventional disarmament also. We hope that a conventional forces in Europe treaty will be ready for signature at a CSCE summit in November. We attach great importance to the world-wide handling of conventional disarmament that takes place in the United Nations.

Events in the Gulf have once more emphasized the urgent need for a global convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, and the necessity to avoid a further spread of nuclear weapons. It is our hope that the complete text of a convention on chemical weapons can be submitted in the near future. Even if the recent Review Conference in Geneva on the Non-Proliferation Treaty failed to produce a final document, we feel that the conference was useful and, on the whole, strengthened the Treaty.

Now let me turn briefly to some of the regional conflicts.

It is a further injustice to the Arab peoples that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait has delayed the search for progress towards solutions to other problems in the Middle East - the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem, and the situation in Lebanon. These problems must not be forgotten. We must continue the

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

search for just, comprehensive and lasting solutions. In view of the alarming situation in the occupied territories, it is essential to bring about a genuine Israeli-Palestinian dialogue as soon as possible. The agreement between Iran and Iraq on the implementation of Security Council resolution 598 (1989) is to be applauded.

Developments in South Africa have been very positive. The meetings between the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and President De Klerk's Government, which resulted in the Groote Schur Minutes and the Pretoria Agreement, represent major achievements. Real negotiations about a future non-racial and democratic South Africa are within reach.

We urge all South Africans to work together to end the violence that could threaten the road to the complete abolition of apartheid. Lasting changes in South Africa can be achieved only by negotiations and by peaceful means. The United Nations should continue to send a clear and unanimous signal to this end. The consensus resolution adopted at the resumed special session on apartheid last week was encouraging. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will support that achievement with a balanced voice in favour of an urgent, peaceful solution to the complex problems of South Africa.

In Cambodia, a solution appears to be imminent. We commend the five permanent members of the Security Council for the results achieved in establishing a framework for a comprehensive political solution. We note with satisfaction that the Cambodian parties have agreed to this framework, and we are very encouraged by the formation of the Supreme National Council. All parties involved should now concentrate their efforts on the implementation of the agreements. We strongly support the role of the United Nations in this process.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

The successful United Nations operation in Namibia has added new dimensions to the possibilities of the world Organization. This augurs well for the potential new tasks in, inter alia, Cambodia and Western Sahara. The Namibia operation has also reaffirmed the fundamental importance of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

Denmark remains a firm supporter of United Nations peace-keeping operations. They must be based on efficiency, cost-effectiveness and flexibility. This is the yardstick we shall continue to use when reviewing our contributions - present and future - to the peace-keeping efforts of the Organization. We should like to see the peace-keeping role of the United Nations strengthened even further, and the possibilities of expanding it in the area of peace-making should be looked into. All peace-keeping and peace-making operations should have a clear mandate, the full co-operation of the parties involved, and a sound financial basis. All member countries must recognize their responsibility for the financing of peace-keeping operations, and they must show willingness to live up to their responsibilities.

A solution to the general financial problems of the United Nations is equally important. All member countries should pay their assessed contributions promptly and in full. Only if this prerequisite is fulfilled can the United Nations meet the enormous challenges of the years to come.

The founders did not limit their vision to the solution of political problems; they envisaged a world where all people had the right to a decent life.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

We must not forget our common responsibility for improving living conditions in the developing world. The problems of the developing countries are still immense. More than one billion people are still living in poverty. The situation in many of the least developed countries has deteriorated over the past 20 years. We must all, rich and poor, realize that economic growth and development can be successfully achieved only if the development process is broad-based. That was the clear message from the second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris earlier this month.

Governments must be held accountable for their actions. People must be allowed to participate in the political process. Democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights are indispensable features of sustainable development. It is encouraging that political and legal reforms are on the agenda in an increasing number of countries. Denmark welcomes that development. It gives reason for optimism. Human rights, democratization and popular participation in the development process are both important tools and objectives in Danish development co-operation. The international development agencies, increasingly, are following the same path. We, for our part, will support this trend. Human rights and democratization are not to be seen as temporary items on the development agenda. It is our common responsibility to make sure they have come to stay.

By doing so we might also contribute to solving the overwhelming problem of refugees. Unless tackled in a comprehensive context, that immense problem could endanger our security in the foreseeable future.

At the same time, we must not lose sight of other threats to developing and developed countries alike.

Climate changes, over-exploitation of the Earth's resources and pollution of the seas represent fundamental threats to social and economic development.

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

International co-operation and concrete action are needed. The United Nations should continue to give high priority to environmental issues. The first session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development augured well for the future. The greatest challenge will be to find ways and means to enable the developing countries to participate in international environmental co-operation and to integrate an environmental dimension into their own development policies and programmes. A comprehensive approach is necessary. It must include the transfer of environmentally sound technology and additional financial resources.

The report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change calls for effective action to counteract climate change. Negotiations on a convention on climate change should be initiated as soon as possible, and the convention should be ready for signature at the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development.

Other challenges must be met with equal vigour. The fight against illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs must build on the momentum created by this year's special session of the General Assembly. The outcome of the special session on combatting narcotic drugs last February laid a new foundation for the fight against this evil.

Drugs and terrorism are closely related. But international terrorism has other sources too. The crisis in the Gulf has added fuel to the use of terrorism for political ends. The world community must never accept the use of terrorism. All nations must work closely together to prevent the perpetrators of terrorism from committing their brutal and senseless acts.

Today we have unprecedented opportunities to fulfil the obligations set out in the Charter of the United Nations. We must seize these opportunities. We must utilize Charter provisions to establish a system of collective security. We must

(Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark)

demonstrate in deeds that military aggression will never be tolerated and never rewarded. We must make full use of the peace-keeping and peace-making role of the Organization. We must establish an international community based on the rule of law, where conflicting interests are settled by peaceful means and based on democratic processes, political pluralism and respect for human rights and freedom of expression.

We must assist the less-favoured nations in solving their enormous problems of development. We must combat the threats to the environment and the evils of narcotic drugs and international terrorism. We must practise tolerance and counter anti-Semitism, racism and practices based on hatred. And we must do so in a world Organization that is truly universal. Together we must help realize the vision of the founders, not for their sake, but for ourselves, for our children and for all future generations.

Mr. NDOLO AYAH (Kenya): On behalf of the President of the Republic of Kenya, the Honourable Daniel Arap Moi, allow me to convey to Mr. Guido de Marco Kenya's warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. Kenya is confident that his wide experience will steer the session to a successful conclusion of its deliberations on complex issues of critical importance to the international community. I wish him a successful presidency.

I wish also to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Joseph Garba, for the manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

My country's sincere appreciation goes also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his continued search for peaceful solutions to the seemingly intractable problems of the world.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

We should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the new Member State of Liechtenstein and to welcome it to the United Nations.

The achievement of independence by Namibia in March this year was a historic event. The freeing of a people from decades of subjugation and discrimination was a testimony to the eventual triumph of good over evil. It was proof of what we have been saying for years: that if the international community is genuinely serious about resolving conflicts, then concerted international action can and will rid the world of most of its evils. Kenya is proud to have made a contribution to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, and we are fully committed to co-operating with Namibia in the years to come.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

The past year also witnessed yet another significant contribution of the United Nations in a conflict-resolution situation. I have in mind the role of the United Nations in Central America, and particularly in Nicaragua with regard to the successful ratification of the electoral process. We are confident that with the support of all Member States the United Nations involvement in the resolution of the Western Sahara conflict will be similarly successful.

Four months ago in this Hall the Secretary-General welcomed a great man long involved in the struggle against apartheid, a man whose presence he described as a landmark in the United Nations. The Secretary-General aptly stated that Mr. Nelson Mandela was a symbol of the unconquerable spirit of the people of South Africa and a champion of freedom and justice for all. Kenya joined the international community in applauding the release of Mr. Mandela after he had languished for 27 years in South African gaols.

We have over the years sought to portray the indescribable evil of the system of apartheid, but on this occasion I shall quote Mr. Mandela, who said of apartheid:

> "It has established its own brutal worth by the number of children it has killed and the orphans, widows and widowers it can claim as its unique creation." (A/44/960, annex VI, p. 103)

I wish also to remind the Assembly of those other words spoken by Mr. Mandela. He said:

> "It will for ever remain an indelible blight on human history that the apartheid crime ever occurred. Future generations will surely ask: what error was made that this system established itself in the wake of the adoption of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights?
>
> "It will for ever remain an accusation and a challenge to all men and women of conscience that it took as long as it has before all of us stood up to say enough is enough." (ibid.)

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

While there can be no denying that there have been some positive developments within South Africa, Kenya nevertheless maintains that those developments are a tentative beginning to the long process ahead. The pillars of apartheid have not yet been completely dismantled, and black South Africans continue to be deprived of their rights, their freedom and their lives. Thus, while we commend President De Klerk for the steps he has taken, we remain committed to the total eradication of apartheid. We reiterate our full support for the maintenance of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa until meaningful changes have been accepted by the majority of South Africans. We also confirm our support for the Declaration on South Africa adopted at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. We urge all nations to abide by its call for the non-relaxation of existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African Government to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change in South Africa.

The Middle East has been a region of rising tension and confrontations for a long time. However, the situation has recently been exacerbated by the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. That invasion has been condemned by the international community, including Kenya. My country, while complying with the United Nations Security Council resolutions on the crisis, urges that no effort be spared in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem. We certainly cannot allow the acquisition of territory by use of force by any State. The Middle East has seen little progress, and Kenya continues to be concerned over the unstable situation in the region. At the core of the problem remains the question of Palestine, and we are deeply concerned at the continued deterioration in the conditions of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. We appeal to Israel to withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967 and express our regret that all attempts to alleviate the situation have been rejected.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

Kenya supports a just and lasting settlement to the Palestinian question based on the relevant United Nations resolutions. We believe that the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland, must be realized, as well as the rights of all States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure borders. We remain convinced of the importance of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties on an equal footing, and we hope that such a conference would take place in the very near future.

Kenya welcomes all attempts to achieve peace and stability in South-East Asia, particularly through a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem. We continue to maintain our position on the right of the people of Cambodia to determine their own destiny free from any outside interference, and we support the current United Nations initiatives aimed at bringing a cease-fire and free and fair elections under United Nations supervision.

In the Korean peninsula we are heartened by the continued dialogue between the two Koreas. Recent positive developments augur well for a peaceful reunification of the two countries to the mutual benefit of all the Korean people. However, should either of the Koreas wish to be admitted to the United Nations Kenya would support such an application. We believe that the unification issue should not be used as a basis for denying the wish of either of the Koreas to become a Member of our Organization.

With regard to the question of Cyprus, Kenya regrets the lack of progress made in the intercommunal talks under the sponsorship of the Secretary-General. It is our hope that there will be a speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops and settlers from Cyprus and that all States will respect the independence of that island nation.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

It is my country's belief that disarmament is a moral imperative of the international community if the basic objectives of maintaining international peace and security are to be achieved. It is on that premise that we welcomed the successful bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union in Washington, DC, in May 1990. The two super-Powers have signed various accords which include, inter alia, important commitments to cut stockpiles of their long-range nuclear arms and, of particular significance, an agreement to reduce by 30 per cent their stockpiles of nuclear missiles. The long-range nuclear-force agreement - although humble, like the earlier Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, in the number of weapons it seeks to eliminate - is of great political significance, especially for many non-nuclear States that advocate a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

My country, Kenya, views the question of a nuclear-weapon test ban as one of paramount importance. In our view a comprehensive test ban is the only viable way to stop the technological momentum of the nuclear-arms race and is one appropriate tool for practical arms-control policies geared to preventing further escalation in the qualitative-arms competition. It is in view of that that my delegation looks forward to the forthcoming amendment conference of the partial test-ban Treaty in 1991.

With regard to the question of verification Kenya does not share the view that this is an obstacle to the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Verification is an integral part of arms-limitation and disarmament agreements, which must be verifiable in the interest of security and compliance. Although it is a complicated issue, the history of negotiated agreements is on our side. It tells us that when negotiating parties were firmly determined to reach an agreement they were always able to remove all obstacles pertaining to verification measures.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

The Secretary-General's government expert study group, of which Kenya was a member, has done a very commendable job in this area, and we hope that the General Assembly will adopt the Group's recommendations, thereby enhancing the United Nations role in verification.

For decades African States have demonstrated their commitment to the cause of the denuclearization of their continent as espoused by the Cairo Declaration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1964. Kenya continues to attach particular importance to the establishment of zones of peace in various parts of the world. Such zones of peace would not only strengthen the fabric of regional peace and stability but would also extend extraregional co-operation in the field of socio-economic development. In light of this, the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace reflects the hopes and aspirations of my country as a littoral State to enhance and share in the prospects of peace and security. We therefore strongly support the proposal to convene the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1991. It is our sincere belief that that Conference will not only harmonize the interests of the countries in the region but also those of the major naval Powers and maritime users. Thus we commend the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean for the good work it has done in the preparation of the Conference despite the many obstacles it has faced.

Before I comment on the international economic situation I should like to speak briefly on the Horn of Africa - my region - and the law of the sea. In the context of regional co-operation tremendous results have been achieved by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) in combating recurrent droughts and desertification, which are the major causes of widespread famine, environmental deterioration and economic hardships in our region. However, it is a matter of great significance that IGAAD has served to foster the spirit of regional co-operation and become an essential forum for taking stock of Africa's

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

problems. It is a forum within which we are able to take stock of the problems impeding economic development in our region. It is in light of that fact that my country has always supported efforts by all parties involved in the search for peaceful solutions to regional conflicts, including intra-State wars, which lead to unnecessary loss of life and seriously hamper implementation of development objectives. Our region is endeavouring to resolve destructive conflicts and to ensure peace among the States members of IGAAD in order to facilitate a better climate for wider regional trade and economic ties, which are a prerequisite for economic integration.*

In this regard the Foreign Ministers of the six States members of the Authority met at Nairobi towards the end of August 1990 to elaborate on the implementation of the Declaration on peace, stability and development adopted by their Heads of State and Government on 9 July 1990 at Addis Ababa. That Declaration emphasizes the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States members and the non-use or threat of use of force against each other, as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes. The States members of the Authority have committed themselves to the peaceful resolution of inter-State and intra-State conflicts and to co-operation in all fields of socio-economic development.

Last year my Government joined the growing number of nations that have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Kenya believes that universal acceptance of that Convention will be the only way in which the whole world can reap the benefits offered by the comprehensive régime of the Convention. To that end Kenya continues to participate actively in the work of the Preparatory Commission in the belief that any issues on which nations may disagree can be solved within that forum in a spirit of compromise.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

To give further legal effect to Kenya's ratification of the Convention on the Law of the Sea we passed in 1989 a Maritime Zone Act and a Fisheries Act. Those two Acts of Parliament will clarify Kenya's claim to its maritime economic zone and ensure proper conservation and management of our maritime resources.

During the 1980s world economic growth was slow, highly imbalanced and uneven compared to the previous two decades of the 1970s and 1960s. World output grew by just over 30 per cent in the 1980s, more slowly than in the 1970s, when it increased by over 45 per cent and at a higher rate in the 1960s. That slow expansion of the global economy was characterized by great contrast in experiences and performance. While on the one hand it was a period in which the developed market economies witnessed the longest uninterrupted growth and expansion since the Second World War, the majority of the developing countries, on the other hand, were faced with continued stagnation and declining economies. The 1980s was, for most developing countries, a decade of struggling under unyielding economic crisis, which seriously hindered progress towards the improvement of economic and social conditions resulting in increasing and widespread acute poverty. Yet the global economy experienced increasing interdependence, increasing population, increasing environmental concerns, increasing trade protectionism, increasing development and application of science and technology and increasing flows of financial resources.

While the developments on the political scene have given mankind so much hope for peace in the future, there is an urgent need to translate that into a real and durable gift through improvement in the economic field in the 1990s.

It was against that background that the developing countries took an initiative at the special session on economic co-operation held in April of this year to find ways and means of stimulating economic growth and development, particularly in the developing countries. The noble objective of improving the world economy for the benefit of all makes the Declaration that was unanimously

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

adopted at that special session the basis for action in the 1990s. It is Kenya's position that the implementation of this important Declaration, in particular through the injection of political will by members of the international community, would constitute a significant step towards the developmental efforts of developing countries.

In the recent past the world has witnessed major changes, some of them extraordinary, some dramatic. The scene of these changes has mainly been in the political arena, but their impact in the economic field is taking shape and will soon transform international economic relations among nations. Among these changes are those that have taken place in eastern European countries and the ongoing economic process of modernization, together with the unprecedentedly quick response with regard to assistance from the industrialized countries. The debate held at the last summer session of the Economic and Social Council confirmed that those changes have a potential to move North-South co-operation to the periphery of international relations and worsen the already severe social conditions in developing countries. While developing countries welcome the changes in Eastern Europe, they are apprehensive that resources will be diverted to that region at the expense of the developing countries. It was reassuring, however, that developed countries reiterated their commitments to assist the South and said that they would not reduce the current financial resources.

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

Since its emergence in 1982, the external debt crisis of developing countries has been the major obstacle to those countries' development efforts, their efforts to improve the welfare of their peoples, and has become a matter of serious concern to the international community. Despite the grave concerns that have been expressed, the many strategies discussed, and the various measures attempted so far, the crisis persists and continues to be one of the major obstacles to social and economic development in developing countries. The total debt of developing countries has been increasing, and now stands at the staggering figure of about $1.3 trillion, compared to $6 billion in 1980.

The cost of debt-servicing has been growing rapidly as a result of the unjust rates of interest, which increased excessively in the 1980s and have not shown any signs of improvement. This problem has been exacerbated by a peculiar uneconomic phenomenon: that, from their desperately needed domestic income, the developing countries are now transferring more to creditors in developed countries than they receive from those creditors.

It is noteworthy that various measures towards solving the debt crisis - measures such as the Toronto scheme, the Brady plan, the rescheduling of bilateral loans, the cancellation of some official development assistance (ODA) loans, and conversion debt-equity swaps - have been taken. These are welcome. It is, however, even more noteworthy that such measures have contributed to the control of only a very small proportion of the total debt of developing countries, that they have done little to reduce the overall burden of external indebtedness and its impact on economic growth and social conditions in developing countries. Recovery and the resumption of sustained growth in developing countries demand that immediate measures be agreed upon to end the debt problem. We therefore welcome the recently released report of Mr. Bettino Craxi, the Secretary-General's special

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

adviser on debt, and we hope that his recommendations will help us to find lasting solutions to the debt problem.

The creation of a multilateral trade system that is open, sustainable and just is essential to the expansion of a healthy world trade and to the efficient utilization of available global resources. The current trends towards increasing unilateralism, protectionism and rivalry militate against stable growth in world trade. In particular, they create serious difficulties for the developing countries as those countries endeavour to fulfil their role in world trade, and thereby affect their development. There is therefore an urgent need to maintain an effective multilateral trading system that will safeguard the interests of all trading countries, including the smallest, by ensuring stability, predictability and transparency in the economic and trading environment.

The Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations is the most important event currently taking place in which this issue will have to be addressed. In this connection, we wish to stress the importance of an outcome that will make it possible to take account equitably of the interests of all participants.

The threat to the environment presents challenges that need to be addressed without further delay. Combined with the growing world population and increasing poverty in developing countries, the threat to the environment overshadows the very future of the human race. While the environment is the common concern of all, the developed countries - which have the greatest capability in technology; which control the existing wasteful global production and consumption patterns; and which are the major source of pollution - have the main responsibility to take appropriate measures urgently. The opportunity for agreeing on appropriate measures - an opportunity presented by the preparatory process for the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and the Conference itself in Brazil in 1992 - should be taken seriously. Kenya, as in the past, will work

(Mr. Ndolo Ayah, Kenya)

towards the objective of a clean and sound environment for present and future generations.

The revitalization of development in the 1990s will require that the United Nations play its unique role. The various processes that are under way - including the preparations for the Fourth United Nations International Development Decade, the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, UNCTAD VIII, and others - present our Organization with an opportunity to contribute significantly to the solution of global problems, especially the acute problems facing developing countries. The Member States have a responsibility to enable the United Nations to perform its important role with increased effectiveness and productivity. Kenya will not be found wanting in this regard.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind Members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. AL-ANBARI (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Having listened this morning to the statement by Mr. De Michelis, the Italian Foreign Minister and current President of the European Community's Council of Ministers, I feel that I must reply to some of the points he raised. To begin with, I would remind Mr. De Michelis that he has not specified the source he quoted when he alleged that President Saddam Hussein has said any of the following:

"the time has come for Baghdad to erase the boundaries between the Arab countries and establish unity by force of arms." (A/45/PV.6, p. 26)

I would have liked to believe that this mistake on the part of Mr. De Michelis was unintentional. However, let me be frank: the mistake, I am afraid, was

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

deliberate. It is part and parcel of the disinformation campaign that is meant to portray Iraq as a threat to all Arab countries and turn the world against Iraq.

I would like to reassure Mr. De Michelis and point out that President Saddam Hussein has said no such thing. The allegation is baseless and runs counter to Iraq's policy in conducting its relations with Arab and other countries.

The Foreign Minister of Italy and President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community said also:

> "The sands of the desert and the constant passage of time must neither wear away the broad political and military coalition which has been built up nor undermine the unprecedented unity forged under the banner of the United Nations." (A/45/PV.6, p. 27)

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

However, Mr. De Michelis knows full well that not a single aircraft carrier, a single aircraft, or even a tent in a camp in the Gulf flies the United Nations flag.

The massive military build-up in the Arab Gulf, in the oilfields of the Arab Gulf States, is, in the first instance, American. The task of those American forces is to occupy the oilfields, on the one hand, and threaten Iraq's peace and security, on the other. As for the other forces there, they are either token forces with which some of America's allies have chipped in or mercenary, helpless troops, which have been put in place to act as an advance shield for the American forces and bear the brunt of any clash that may result if the United States were to commit an act of aggression against Iraq and thus attract an Iraqi response in self defence.

It is true that the United States uses the Security Council resolutions as pretexts, but those resolutions do not permit the use of force or give America the right to invade the region militarily in preparation for a war of aggression that would wreak havoc everywhere.

In all fairness, however, I must say that Mr. De Michelis' statement was not totally devoid of truth. On page four, thereof, he stated that the West, particularly the EEC, have vital interests in safeguarding the continued flow of oil from the Gulf region. And that, Mr. Minister, is the crux of the matter: oil, and then oil, and oil yet again. This is all that concerns the West in the Middle East. That is the reason why, faced with the prospect of depletion of the world's sources of oil and the fact that the remaining world reserves of oil are concentrated in the Gulf, the States of the West have found no alternative but to physically occupy those oilfields.

In doing this, those States have simply emulated Israel's theft of Arab water resources, including the waters of the Yarmouk, the Jordan and Litani rivers, and Israel's control over 83 per cent of the water resources of the West Bank. It may

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not be widely known that at the peak of what has been called the Gulf crisis, and at the peak of the hysterical media hype against Iraq, the Minister of Agriculture of so-called Israel, on 11 August, made the following statement to the San Francisco Chronicle:

"The continued existence of Israel necessitates the total and continued control over water resources in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank."

He added: "Israel will not give up such total control." Regardless of the fact that theft of Arab water resources by the Israeli entity and other countries in the region runs counter to the rules of international law, Israel's accomplices who are actively stealing the Arab oilfields have kept silent and condoned the crimes of genocide committed by Israel against the Arabs in Palestine, in the Golan and in Lebanon, not to mention its act of aggression against Iraq in 1981 and against Tunisia in 1986 and 1988, not to mention its brutal repression of the Palestinian intifadah.

I would like to remind the President of the European Community that the Community did not serve the issue of peace in the region and in the Gulf when it failed to pay enough attention to the initiative of President Saddam Hussein on 12 August 1990. President Hussein called for the implementation of all the resolutions of the Security Council calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the region, including the withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Arab Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and South Lebanon, and the withdrawal of the Syrian forces and other foreign militias from Lebanon and the imposition of military and economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter on any State that refuses to abide by the Security Council resolutions. Some of those resolutions were issued more than 40 years ago. Some of them were adopted in June 1967. Others were adopted in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. However, we have not yet seen

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any serious attempt by the United States or the European Community to implement these resolutions, let alone a whisper that sanctions may be imposed.

The States of the West now claim that the so-called Gulf crisis has impeded the solution of the problems of the Middle East. However, the only thing we kept hearing over past years was that the Arabs had to negotiate with the Israeli entity first, and must accept Israel's pre-conditions for such negotiations, including the choice of the Palestinian delegation that Israel would accept to negotiate with.

When it comes to Iraq, the tune is different: no negotiations, no initiatives, no mediation, except after the full and immediate implementation of the Security Council resolutions. Some, including certain States of the European Community, have tried to evade the Iraqi initiative by claiming that the issue of Kuwait is separate from that of Palestine and Lebanon. Let us suppose that that pretext is in good faith, then - despite our conviction that all of these problems are deeply and inter-related, root and cause - let us, for the sake of argument, separate the issue of the Gulf crisis from the issues of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Arab Jerusalem, Golan and Lebanon. Then let us implement the resolutions which call for the withdrawal of the Israeli, Syrian and other foreign forces now and not later. Is it not enough that the implementation of those resolutions has been delayed for tens of years? Now that the cold war is a thing of the past and the United States has become the leader of all the industrialized countries, why will the Security Council and the European Community not put into effect the Security Council resolutions, instead of promising to look into their implementation one way or the other at some indefinite future date? Why this evasion? Why the double standard, when it comes to dealing with the Arab States and Israel? Can I hear an answer from Mr. De Michelis? Why will the European Community not strive to implement the Security Council resolutions relative to

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

Palestine and the Golan now? Without delay? The Chairmen of the EEC delegations are called upon to answer this very, legitimate question in their speeches. Why will they not strive to implement all Security Council resolutions now and not later? Why not try to impose sanctions on all those who do not abide by the rule of law and refuse to implement those resolutions?

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.